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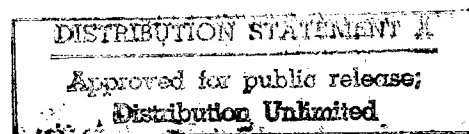
7 NOVEMBER 1986

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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7 NOVEMBER 1986

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC UN ENVOY URGES END TO IRAN-IRAQ WAR

OW080806 Beijing XINHUA in English 0747 GMT 8 Oct 86

[Excerpt] United Nations, October 7 (XINHUA)--China is "seriously disturbed" by the Iran-Iraq war which showed "a dangerous prospect towards an all-round escalation;" China's permanent representative to the United Nations said today.

Ambassador Li Luye noted at the U.N. Security Council that the 6-year-old war had inflicted "colossal human and material losses" on both sides. If it continues, Li said, the people of both countries would "find it even more difficult to heal the wounds of war in future reconstruction."

The continuing war "would directly threaten the peace and security of the Middle East, particularly the Gulf region, thus adding one more destabilizing factor to the international situation," the Chinese ambassador added.

He again urged Iran and Iraq to seek a fair settlement of their disputes "under mutually acceptable terms in keeping with the norms of international law and through peaceful negotiations."

He reiterated China's consistent view that the two countries have mutual interests and can "find a peaceful solution."

Both Iran and Iraq are developing countries and belong to the Islamic world and the Non-Aligned Movement, Li said. They "share the same historical mission in maintaining international peace and security" and developing their national economies. "This is where their fundamental interests lie," he said.

Li stated that China supports any initiative for a peaceful settlement and the continued efforts by the U.N. secretary-general.

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GENERAL

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

#### STRATEGY EXPERTS ON WORLD SITUATION

HK010641 Hong Kong LIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese No 39, 29 Sep 86, pp 26-27

[Article by Zeng Hu [2582 5706]: "International Strategy Experts Discuss World Situation"]

[Excerpts] The London International Strategic Research Institute held its 28th annual meeting in Kyoto, Japan, from 8 to 11 September to discuss the subject of "East Asia, the West, and the prospects for international security and peace." More than 300 scholars and researchers from 35 countries, including Japan and countries in western Europe, North America, and Oceania, attended the meeting. During the meeting, this reporter interviewed some experts about their opinions on peace and security in Asia and in the world.

Military Competition Between the Soviet Union and the United States Is the Main Threat of Peace

Mr (O'Neill), director of the London Strategic Research Institute, said that the most serious issue that affects the world's security is the continuing military competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. Now, they have even drawn their respective allies into this competition.

The experts said that they are not optimistic about the prospects of the next round of US-Soviet talks on arms controls. They held that the talks will be arduous and long, and it is hard to expect any substantial progress in the near future.

Asia Is Playing a More Important Role

As for the security issue in the Asian region, the experts held that since the end of World War II, the penetration of difference forces in this region has made the security and defense interests of countries in this region very complicated, and this is reflected in the instability of this region. Dr (Katefuleite) [0595 3676 1715 7191 3676] and Dr (Shuman) [2579 2581] from the FRG pointed out that in East Asia or even in Asia as a whole, there is no uniformity of security and defense interests and no country block like in western Europe. In this region, different countries consider that threats come from different places.



However, the experts unanimously agreed that in today's world situation, Asia is playing a more and more important role in affairs concerning global peace and security.

Most experts said that the tense situation on the Korean peninsula and the economic problems inside various countries are affecting the security of East Asia and Asia as a whole.

Meanwhile, the experts held that the situations in Afghanistan, Cambodia, and the Philippines are also worth notice.

#### The Soviet Union's New Posture

One subject that the participants mentioned most frequently was the Soviet Union's new diplomatic posture in the recent period, especially Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok in late July.

Dr (Katefuleite) and Dr (Shuman) held that the Soviet Union did not make any change in its strategy and foreign policy. If there are some differences between the present situation and the previous situation, it is that Moscow now has found that Asia must not be neglected after it attached importance to Europe.

(O'Neill) said that people must wait and see the Soviet Union's concrete action on such issues as Japan's northern territory if they want to judge whether Gorbachev's speech really indicated some changes or was merely a repackaging of old issues.

(Hante) [3352 3676], a brigadier of the British Army and deputy director of the Strategic Research Institute, said that in the past 3 to 4 years, the Soviet Union's foreign policy toward Asia was unsuccessful. Now, Gorbachev is trying to seek more effective tactics. He is showing a smiling appearance, but the Soviet Union has not made any substantial change in its foreign policy. For example, its promise on the Afghanistan issue was just a show. Its real intention is to continue to bring Afghanistan under its control, and the withdrawal of thousands of troops will not affect its control over Afghanistan.

Kiichi Saiki, vice chairman of the International Strategic Research Institute and senior adviser to Japan's Nomura Research Institute, emphasized that a positive and watchful attitude should be adopted toward Gorbachev's "new, flexible, and impressive" speech, and some effective reactions should also be made so as to prompt the Soviet Union to make some changes.

#### China's Positive Role

The experts all appreciated China's on-going economic reform and proposed political reform. They held that so long as China maintains the orientation of reform so as to develop her economy and consolidate domestic stability,

she will certainly make contributions to peace and security in Asia. In particular, China will play a role of holding back Vietnam's expansion and easing the tension on the Korean peninsula. They held that from the angle of the global strategy, China will make contributions to the world's peace and security as long as China maintains its strength and pursues an independent foreign policy. They also noticed the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations and said that this is acceptable.

/12624

CSO: 4005/100

UNITED STATES

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

WORLD STRATEGY SYMPOSIUM--Beijing, October 21 (XINHUA)--A two-day Sino-United States Symposium on International Strategy and the World Situation opened here today. The symposium, whose proceedings have not been made public, is sponsored by the Pacific Forum of the United States and the Chinese Institute for International Strategic Studies. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0814 GMT 21 Oct 86 OW]

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CSO: 4000/027

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LIAOWANG ON ORTEGA'S 'FACE THE PEOPLE' METHOD

HK170817 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No. 36, 8 Sep 86 pp 21-23

[Special dispatch from Managua by contributing reporter Liu Ruichang  
[0491 3843 1603]: "President and 'Facing the People'"]

[Text] Over the last 6 years Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has adhered to a special, completely new work method, dubbed "facing the people." According to this method, under ordinary circumstances, the president will go to every part of the country every Saturday to have a direct dialogue with the people of each social stratum, to find out their weal and woe and demands, to hear their opinions on government work, and to help them solve specific problems. During the dialogue sessions, all participants are encouraged to freely express their opinions, demands, and hopes and to make criticisms and suggestions directly to the president. The president and related government ministers or responsible persons are expected to give on-the-spot answers and to accept or give explanations to critical opinions in general, and no debate is carried out during the sessions. Some problems can be solved right on the spot and some are left for further study after the sessions. Generally speaking, the atmosphere at such a session is relatively harmonious. Every dialogue session lasts for 3 to 4 hours.

Through protracted, arduous, and outstanding struggle, the Nicaraguan Sandinista Revolutionary Front overthrew the 43-year autocratic rule of the Anastasio Somoza family and established the Sandinista Revolutionary Government in 1979. After the victory of the revolution, full-scale reconstruction waited to be undertaken but the government lacked experience in consolidating political power and building the country. Therefore, it was decided to establish direct contact with the people and to heed their opinions so as to seek ways of running and rejuvenating the country. On 6 June 1980, the Sandinista Government launched its first "face the people" activity in the capital of Managua. From then on, such activities were held once a week and have been held on more than 300 occasions up to this time. In the last 6 years, accompanied by related government ministers, vice ministers, department or district leading officials, and specialists, President Ortega has had dialogues with workers, farmers, soldiers, teachers, students, journalists, judges, Catholics, private entrepreneurs, sportsmen, and even with orphans left over from the war, in all parts of the country, in order to heed their criticisms, suggestions, demands, inquiries, and supportive proposals. Thus he has toured the 16 departments of the nation's 9 territories.

The Nicaraguan Government regards the "face the people" activity as of great significance. Not only is it a form of fully developing democracy, but it will also help the government directly gather criticisms and suggestions made by the people at grass-roots level, which will be of great help to the improvement of government work. Recently, Minister of Propaganda and Information (Manuel Espinoza) told reporters: From the "face the people" activities, the government has discovered quite a lot of vital problems, including some grave errors in its work. Giving an example, he said: Following the victory of the revolution, the government took over the arms in the hands of farmers in the combat zone cooperatives and handed them over to the regular army. Consequently, the cooperatives' ability to defend themselves was weakened and many of them were attacked by the antigovernment armed forces. Subsequently, in a "face the people" activity, cooperative farmers raised this issue. The government deemed their proposal reasonable and promptly returned their arms. From then on, the antigovernment elements were not as rampant as in the past. Recently, in a "face the people" activity, the government was informed that after the victory of the revolution, cooperative farmers worked 2 and 1/2 to 4 and 1/2 hours a day. This was precisely one of the important reasons for the current economic difficulties. Last year Nicaragua's gross national product dropped by 3.6 percent and agricultural production registered zero growth. At present various basic daily necessities are in extremely short supply. Recently, the government called on the farmers to work 6 hours a day and took some measures of material encouragement. Many cooperative farmers have begun responding to the call. The "face the people" activity is a good test of government work, because the masses of people are entitled to report existing problems directly to the president about the work of various government departments, contended the propaganda and information minister.

Last year the United States imposed an overall economic blockade and trade ban on Nicaragua. This year a resolution to give the antigovernment armed forces \$100 million worth of military and logistic aid has been adopted. The Nicaraguan Government has no choice but to use half of its national budget in national defense and to pursue "wartime economic policies," multiplying the country's economic difficulties. Current economic problems have become a political issue of whether the Sandinista regime can survive the American pressure. Therefore, the Nicaraguan Government centered the focus of "face the people" activities for this year on economic issues. The president went to various economic regions or departments to explain the current difficulties to the people in a planned way, so as to win their sympathy and support and to find an effective way to surmount the difficulties.

Recently this reporter covered "face the people" activities on two occasions at the President's invitation, one being in the countryside in a combat zone and the other in a factory. The activities left a considerably deep impression on me.

One Saturday in February this year, many journalists, foreign and domestic, left the capital in three minibuses in early morning for Boaco Department, some 100 km from the capital, to cover the President's "face the people" activity. Boaco Department is one of the major combat zones where government troops and antigovernment armed forces are frequently locked in fierce battle. Beginning

in 1981 and supported by the U.S. Administration, the Nicaraguan antigovernment armed forces carried out an armed struggle in the northern and southern mountainous areas bordering Costa Rica and Honduras in an attempt to overthrow the existing government. In recent years the war has been expanded to the inland department Boaco, where battles have been frequently fought and gunfire continuously heard. Taking chances, the president held a "face the people" activity in a village called "Blue land."

A temporary platform made of wood was set up in a piece of grassland outside the village surrounded by a forest of posted sentries. This was where the President held the activity. Dark skinned and simply dressed farmers, men and women, old and young, totaling 500 sat beneath the platform. They were the representatives of farmers and had come from all parts of Boaco Department.

At noon, President Ortega, in a grass green short-sleeved military uniform, the ministers of agricultural development and agrarian reform, health, and of transportation, and agricultural trade union leaders mounted the platform, some 20 officials in all. A man of medium height and proportional build with a moustache and slightly bald head, President Ortega, 41, wore black-framed glasses. He appeared to be older than his real age. The way he spoke and what he said showed that he was a middle-aged man full of confidence and vigor.

During the dialogue session lasting 3 hours, through microphone some 20 farmers freely advanced many problems to the president. Some said that they hoped the government would send doctors to their villages because there was no doctor there, and others said that the roads to their villages were in bad conditions and hoped the government would have them repaired. However, most farmers stated that the serious problem now existing in the Nicaraguan countryside was the issue of land.

During the rule of the Somoza family, land in Nicaragua was concentrated on the hands of a tiny number of big manor owners, and the landless farmers constituted 40 percent of the nation's population. Since the establishment of the Sandinista Government, agrarian reform has been carried out and the land owned by the Somoza family and some big manor owners has been confiscated and distributed among the landless farmers, thus solving the land problem for some farmers. However, there are still some farmers who have no land to till. A farmer informed the president that in his village there was a big manor owner who possessed several hundred hectares of land which was out of cultivation, while several hundred farmers had no land to till although they had untiring pairs of hands. The farmer urged the government to confiscate the manor owner's land which lay waste, and to distribute it among the landless farmers for cultivation. After exchanging views with the minister of agricultural development and agrarian reform, the president stood up and said that during the present difficult period in which there were serious grain shortages in the country, the government would never allow the big manor owners, who possessed excessive amounts of land but were unable to till it, to waste the land. He announced that the government would study a policy to put an end to this irrational phenomenon. Not long afterward, the government promulgated a decree which stipulated the maximum amount of land a manor owner could possess. It also stipulated that no one should leave land lying waste and when land is

discovered as having lain waste for quite some time, the government will confiscate and redistribute it among landless farmers.

In June this year, this reporter was again invited to cover a presidential "face the people" activity. This time the president held a dialogue with workers. The meeting took place in a factory, some 100 km from the capital. At the meeting a dark-faced miner told the president that production at the goldmine where he worked dropped year after year, because equipment was outdated and machines were worn out, and there were no replacement spare parts. He suggested that the government try to find a way out of the problem. After the industry minister, who was sitting behind the president, had stood up and inquired as to who was in charge of the gold mine, he promised to solve this problem promptly after the meeting. Some 30 people spoke at the meeting which lasted for 4 hours or so. The president and cabinet ministers listened attentively to the workers' opinions and frequently took notes.

Nicaragua's State Television Station relays the president's "face the people" activities every week. This has become a special topic program known to all.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

KAIFANG COMMENTATOR ON POLITICAL REFORM

HK170251 Guangzhou KAIFANG in Chinese No 8, 8 Aug 86 pp 4-6

[Commentator's Article: "Political Structural Reform Is Imperative"]

[Text] Through a few years' efforts, economic structural reforms in our country have made remarkable breakthroughs. At the same time, we have also done a great deal of work in political structural reforms and have achieved results and gained experience in many fields. However, in general, the latter still lags behind the former. With the in-depth development of economic structural reforms, the comprehensive and all-round political structural reforms have become more and more necessary and have become a subject under discussion in various localities.

Political structural reforms and economic structural reforms should be coordinated with each other. The political structure is the main part of the superstructure of society. It is established to satisfy the needs of a certain economic base and a certain production mode. In turn, it affects the development and consolidation of its economic base and production mode. If the superstructure is in line with the needs of the economic base and the production mode, it will play a positive role; on the other hand, the outmoded and backward political structure (including some parts of the political structure) will play a negative role and will hinder economic development if it is not promptly reformed and readjusted. Therefore, in the structural reform as a whole under the socialist system, economic structural reform must be accompanied by corresponding reforms and improvements of the political structure. Reforms in the economic and political fields should support, promote, and complement each other so as to jointly serve the purpose of developing social production forces and consolidating and developing the economic and political system of socialism.

At present, not only is the previous economic structure, which was used to manage a product economy, not suited to the development of the socialist commodity economy in our country, but many things in the political structure and management system based on a product economy are also unsuited to the present economic conditions. The party and government organs at all levels are still managing and controlling many things which they should not interfere in or which they cannot handle properly. Power is still excessively centralized in a rigid way. The defects of the political structure have become clearer and clearer with the development of the economic structural reform and social



production. For example, the party's functions are confused with government functions, and party organizations are dealing with many things within the jurisdiction of government institutions; on the other hand, enterprises are treated as government institutions, and government institutions are handling many things which should be decided by enterprises. No clear division of work exists inside the party and government leadership structure. The administrative institutions are unwieldy, overstaffed, and inefficient, and bureaucratism exists to a serious degree. All this has hindered the in-depth development of the economic structural reform and the commodity economy. This state of affairs shows that in our country, apart from continuing to perfect the economic structure, we still have to carry out reforms in the political, cultural, and other fields in society. Otherwise, economic reform will not be effective, and may even become aborted.

The contents of the political structure are rich and it involves many things. So a comprehensive reform of the political structure is a huge social systems engineering project. Here, we want to discuss a number of questions which are related to economic structural reforms and should be urgently solved.

First, it is necessary to correctly handle the relationship between the party and the government and to separate party functions from government functions so that the economic management functions of the government institutions can be brought into full play. How to scientifically separate government functions from party functions so that each of the two sides can play a positive role is an important question that all socialist countries may encounter. Whether this question can be solved correctly concerns whether the functions of government institutions can be brought into full play and whether the party's leadership can be improved and strengthened. Undoubtedly, the CPC, which holds the ruling position, should exercise leadership over the political, economic, cultural and social life of the whole country. However, we should seriously study the proper way to exercise such leadership and should correctly understand such a leadership role. In the past, there was a one-sided viewpoint, holding that the party's leadership is absolute, all-embracing, and omnipotent, so everything, whether it is big or small, must be put under the party's control. Under the slogan of strengthening the party's centralized leadership, all power was concentrated in the hands of the party committees at all levels to an improper degree and in an indiscriminate way. As a result, in our real life, the party performed all the functions of the government, and there was no difference between the party and the government; or the party and the government were placed in the same place to exercise so-called dual leadership. This not only hindered government institutions from effectively performing their functions, but also weakened rather than strengthened the party's leadership.

Therefore, the primary point in the political structural reform is to clearly divide the scope of functions of party organizations and government institutions and to separate their functions from one another in a proper way so that party organizations will not continue to deal with administrative affairs and leading party cadres will not take over the duties of administrative leaders. The report to the 12th National Party Congress pointed out: "The party is not a power organ which can issue orders to the masses, nor is it an administrative and production organization." The party's leadership should

mainly be reflected in the ideological and political field through the formulation of policies. The party should play a leading role mainly through the exemplary behavior of all party members and cadres and the implementation of the policies by party organizations at all levels. Therefore, party organizations at all levels should concentrate on properly handling the party's affairs, ensuring the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies, and doing ideological and political work among the masses. As far as economic work is concerned, the party should exercise leadership mainly through regulating the general development orientation, controlling the overall situation, and formulating major policies and plans on the basis of careful investigations and studies. The concrete work of carrying out the economic plans and policies and the concrete production, professional, and administrative work should be handled by government institutions, enterprises, and mass organizations on their own.

Second, it is necessary to correctly handle the relationship between the government and enterprises and to separate government functions from enterprise functions. The decision-making power of grassroots units and enterprises should be expanded. In the past, ours was a product economy, in which ownership by the whole people was equated to government institutions' direct operation of enterprises, thus government institutions were confused with enterprises or even replaced enterprise functions. Many things which should be handled by the enterprises themselves were decided by the government institutions in charge in an inefficient way. As a result, enterprises were attached to administrative institutions, and lost their vigor and motivation, and on the other hand, government institutions could not effectively play their guiding role in the field of overall management. Therefore, it is necessary to continue to emphasize the principle of separating government functions from enterprise functions and continue to reform the administrative system so as to streamline the administrative structure and expand the decision-making power of enterprises. On the one hand, microeconomic activities must be enlivened. Government institutions at various levels can only use their power within prescribed limits, and in principle, should not directly manage enterprises. They should give the power to their subordinate enterprises so that the enterprises can manage their personnel and financial affairs and handle their production, marketing, and material purchases, and can function as relatively independent commodity producers and handlers. On the other hand, governments at all levels should change their economic management functions and change all regulations and rules and management methods which are not suited to the development of the socialist commodity economy. They should shift their attention from such work as assigning production targets, approving construction projects, distributing funds and materials to overall planning, policy decision-making, organizational coordination, offering services, employing economic regulatory means, and intensifying inspections and supervision. Their management over enterprises should gradually change from direct control based on administrative means to indirect control based mainly on economic means so as to form a new socialist macroeconomic management system.

Third, it is necessary to correctly handle the internal relationship between the higher level and the lower level in the political structure so as to arouse the initiative of all levels in administrative management. Our country has a vast territory and a large population. Social, economic, and cultural

development in various localities is extremely uneven. Under the premise of guaranteeing the central government's centralized leadership over the country's economic construction and social management, we should establish a multi-level management system so as to define administrative jurisdiction between the central government and local governments in light of the principle of combining democracy and centralism and combining centralism and decentralism. The scope of functions and powers of local governments should be appropriately expanded so that their initiative and creativity can be better aroused and their sense of responsibility can be strengthened.

During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the reform of the party and government leadership structure and the personnel system are two main parts of the political structural reforms. Although we have reformed the party and government leadership structure, the serious problems of irrational establishment of administrative organs, confusing functions of various departments and positions, overstaffing, low work efficiency, and bureaucratism have not been thoroughly solved. Therefore, it is necessary to readjust the management functions of the existing state organs in light of the requirements of the new socialist macroeconomic management system: decision-making power concerning production and business management must be given to the enterprises; work concerning social services should be assigned to the relevant institutions; party work and mass work should be handled by party organizations and mass organizations; government institutions should only concern themselves with overall economic management. This will cut down on the functions and tasks of government institutions, and will thus streamline the present unwieldy administrative structure and disband the redundant organs and levels. The law and supervision departments which are weak now will thus be strengthened, and the necessary information and decision-making departments which are not sound now will be increased. After readjusting and replenishing the decision-making system, the execution system, the information system, and the supervision system of the government, we will build up a highly efficient and modern management and administration structure which is in line with the requirements of the development of the socialist commodity economy.

To satisfy the needs of the economic and political structural reforms, we also have to reform the existing cadre system and personnel system. The key to reforming the cadre system is to promote the democratization process. The previous method of appointing cadres merely by the organizational and personnel departments in a secret way should be replaced with an open method of allowing the masses to recommend and nominate candidates. Cadres can also be elected or hired through public advertisements. A definite tenure of office should be fixed so that cadres can be replaced. In particular, a democratic system of elections should be adopted to bring about leading cadres at various levels and a definite tenure of office for those cadres should be fixed. The number of cadres being appointed directly by the upper authorities should be limited, and the system which ensures cadres' lifelong tenure of office should be abolished. Through reforming the cadre system, we will be able to improve the political and professional quality of our cadre contingent and change its age structure, management skills, and knowledge level so as to provide a reliable guarantee for our new economic and political structure.

Political structural reform will be more complicated than economic structural reform and will involve a wider scope of things. Like economic structural reform, it will readjust the powers and interests of all quarters in society and thus will encounter many problems. In the course of reform, we must give consideration to local specific economic and social conditions and should adopt a positive and prudent attitude. It will be an evolution process which breaks old things and establishes new things. So we cannot act recklessly, should not impose arbitrary uniformity on various localities and units, and should not try to accomplish things in a single move. In a certain period, the old system will coexist with the new one. Reform should be carried out earlier or later in different places, and should not be unfolded in all fields at the same time. Urgent things should be handled first, and things which are not so urgent can wait. Meanwhile, some reforms should be carried out in coordination with reforms in other fields, and some reforms can be carried out independently. Political structural reform is comprehensive and integrated. Reform can begin from partial matters, but it also needs overall plans and general objectives. All partial reforms should all be linked to the general objectives and become organic parts of the overall reform. Concrete reform steps should be taken in a planned and orderly way, and careful planning and guidance are necessary, while experiments are carried out boldly. We should try to succeed in every reform step and try to prevent ourselves from backtracking.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LARGE SCALE REGULARIZATION OF CADRE TRAINING DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 26 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Beijing correspondent Wang Jienan [3769 8053 0589]: "Overall Improvement of Political Quality, Level of Knowledge, and Capabilities of Cadres; China Launches Large-Scale, Regularized Cadre Training; In 7 Years Over 6.7 Million Cadres Underwent Training and Training in Rotation"]

[Text] A task of strategic significance, the large-scale regularized training of cadres to improve the political quality of the cadre contingent, raise their level of knowledge and their capabilities, is now being energetically launched throughout China.

According to statistics of relevant departments, there are over 11,000 party schools, cadre schools, institutions of higher learning, and technical secondary schools throughout the country undertaking cadre training. From 1979 to 1985, a total of over 6.9 million cadres have undergone training or training in rotation throughout the country.

Paying great attention to cadre training is an excellent tradition of the CPC. However, since the late 1950's, due to "leftist" aberrations, the training of cadres and educational work had deviated more and more from the correct course, to be completely abolished during the "cultural revolution." The 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee restored order out of chaos in cadre training and educational work. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the entire party must once more undergo training. Several hundred members of the Central Committee and several thousand high-ranking cadres of central and local government offices must take the lead in intensive studies of modern economic construction. Later, the Central Committee and the State Council, after repeated studies, issued a set of instructions and rules for cadre instruction in the new era. Relevant departments, such as the Central Organizational Department and the Central Propaganda Department as well as the former Ministry of Education have on different occasions held eight nationwide working conferences on cadre education. At the end of 1984, the central authorities officially approved the establishment of a central leading group for cadre education. The provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions correspondingly set up leading groups, specially charged with this work.

Presently, China's cadre education has developed from mainly studying Marxist theory and the principles and policies of the party to a more comprehensive training which covers Marxist theory, principles and policies of the party, as well as general knowledge, scientific knowledge, and professional knowledge.

The symposia on knowledge of the new technical revolution, held by six departments, including the Central Organizational Department, encouraged intermediate and high-ranking cadres to study modern technical and managerial subjects. Professional training was also instituted nationwide for leading cadres of intermediate and high rank at the agricultural, animal husbandry, fishery, industrial and communications, finance, government, and legal fronts, in each case starting out from the particular needs of the area concerned. The State Economic Commission, furthermore, organized examinations of factory directors and managers. The educational level of China's contingent of cadres has already markedly improved. By the end of 1985, 45.6 percent of the nation's contingent of cadres have had senior middle school or technical secondary school education, and 21.9 percent have had university and college education, while in 1979, actually half of all the cadres throughout the country were of junior middle school or lower educational level.

As we understand, starting with the Seventh 5-Year Plan, cadre education in China will place key emphasis on the education of leading party and government cadres and cadre reserves. The central authorities will set up study classes for provincial governors and department heads as well as study classes for mayors. Training in batches will also be instituted for alternative party members of the Central Committee. At the same time, the specialized professional training for cadres during their periods of office will be strengthened, and after passing examinations, they will be issued "Certificates of Specialization," which will be one of the requirements for holding leadership cadre positions.

9808

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MODIFICATION OF PARTY AUTHORITY URGED

Hong Kong CHING PAO [THE MIRROR] in Chinese No 9, Sep 86 pp 37-39

[Interview with Qin Benli [2953 2609 4539], editor-in-chief of SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO, by CHING PAO reporter Shi Binhai [2457 3453 3189], on 21 July 86: "The Idea that the Party Runs Everything Must Be Modified"]

[Text] Since it started publication, Shanghai's SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO has distinguished itself in the Chinese press with its outspokenness and spirit of inquiry and has become a focus of attention. In the evening on 21 July, this reporter was asked by CHING PAO to interview the editor-in-chief of SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO, Qin Benli [2953 2609 4539], and ask him a number of questions about the restructuring of China's political system that interest people at home and abroad. Mr. Qin Benli is admirably articulate and frank.

Conceptual Changes Are Critical

Question: The conventional wisdom is that the basic issue in the restructuring of China's political system today is the separation of party and government. This was put forward after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. But very little has been achieved. In your opinion, how should party and government be separated?

Answer: To answer this question, I believe one has to start with concepts. Whether we are talking about the restructuring of the economic system or that of the political system, conceptual changes are vital. Otherwise, reform will be hampered. To begin with, I think the concept that the party must run everything, lead everything, has got to be changed. Not only must power be checked, but it must also be redistributed. What it should control, what it should not control--this should not be decided by the party itself as it pleases, but should follow the constitution. Doesn't the party constitution explicitly lay down that the party must operate within the limits defined by the constitution? So I believe that we must, first, discard the concept that the party must lead everything, and, second, eradicate the pernicious influences of thousands of years of feudalism.

Question: Why should anti-feudalism be part of the restructuring of the political system?

Answer: Because socialism emerged in old China that was semi-colonial and semi-feudal. We may say that of all the ideological remnants left over from old society, the most powerful was feudalism, which penetrated every aspect, every level in society and threatened the core of the party. Feudal patriarchal ideas, the notion of class, the idea that prerogatives and privileges go with position, high-handedness, self-imposed isolation, blind opposition to everything foreign--all this still rears its ugly head from time to time even as we modernize. It can be said that the 10 years of disaster would not have occurred but for the pernicious influences of feudalism inside and outside the party. And had the people not been reduced to ideological benightedness by the pernicious influences of feudalism, their thoughtless fanaticism during the Cultural Revolution would not have happened. At the time, 1 billion Chinese only had one brain, that is, Mao Zedong's brain. Thus it took just one big-character poster to annul the constitution, one "16 May circular" to abolish the chairmanship of the state. We must remember this historical lesson forever. Also, 30 years of "leftist" guiding ideology has been deeply etched in the public consciousness. It will take a long time to change that.

#### A New Ideological Liberation Movement

What is socialism? Is there only one model of socialism? Is it un-socialist just to have several ownership systems? Is it capitalism merely to invite foreign capitalists to China to run enterprises? At issue here is a string of questions about changing our mentality. As I see it, what we need is a new ideological liberation movement to free ourselves from our ideological strictures so that we can think new ideas. Otherwise, we will run into a kind of resistance (conscious and subconscious) and reform will derail, even if we persist in it. Take companies, for instance. Why did so-called official companies and special companies appear later? Actually they were merely ploys by officials and the privileged.

Once we reform our thinking, it will be a short step to separating party and government. After all, it is only right that they be separated. We should begin at the central level. For instance, functions and power should be severed, as should machinery and institutions. Party-like machinery should not be exercising government functions, for instance.

Question: In that case, will people tend to attach more importance to the factory director than to the party secretary?

Answer: I think we must first deemphasize the notion of party power. Party spirit must coincide with affinity to the people. The party should not always go after privileges and think in terms of controlling and leading the people. Certainly, the tendency you mentioned will appear, but party members and party leaders should rightly subscribe to a higher sense of historical responsibility.

Question: The "consensus in public opinion" is being eroded. How far can this erosion go?



Answer: Yes, the "consensus in public opinion" is being eroded; more voices are being heard. No longer is it a solo act for the leadership, with the masses below not making a sound. Relaxation, in fact, should consist of two parts; one, being tolerant to people who think innovatively and independently about reform; and two, allowing those who are skeptical and who look on from the sidelines to express their opinions and investigate freely. Everybody is equal before freedom of speech. Wan Li [8001 6849] recently said that Chairman Mao Zedong made a major error on the parting of Xiang Yu from his wife. Now it seems that leaving the wife is a party issue, not an issue for an individual conqueror.

Wan Li's speech is a major event in China's political life today. For instance, instead of not blaming the speaker, we now think the speaker has rendered a service. This too is a change in our mentality. In addition, every leader should have a few bosom friends and not isolate themselves. This is important. In the past, we stressed the "Doctrine of Three Don't's" (that is, do not come down with the big stick upon somebody, do not capitalize on somebody's vulnerable point, and do not slap political labels on others). But actually it was all empty words. If somebody wanted to attack you, he could do so anytime. Actually this is the dire consequence of waiting for favors.

As for the extent to which the "public opinion consensus" will be eroded, I believe that after Wan Li has spoken up, we should encourage the free airing of views and turn freedom of speech, provided for by the constitution, into a reality.

#### The Role of Democratic Parties Cannot Be Underestimated

Question: What role should democratic parties play?

Answer: Recently Fei Xiaotong [6316 1321 6639] accompanied General Secretary Hu Yaobang on the latter's trip to four Western European nations. This is a signal to the world that democratic parties are in favor in China. It is also an indirect signal of the restructuring of the political system. Now there is a strong demand for more openness in government and state affairs. Before they approve a major policy, the CPC Central Committee and local party committees should consult with democratic parties and nonparty personages and sound them out in a spirit of humility. The supervisory role of democratic parties should not be underestimated. What will actually happen, only time can tell.

Question: The National People's Congress gives people the impression that it is a "rubber stamp." How can the functions of the NPC be strengthened?

Answer: First, we must establish the NPC's authority instead of merely changing its image as a rubber stamp. Second, the party must respect the constitution. To respect the constitution is to respect the people. The party cannot subordinate every state activity under its control just because it is the ruling party. On the contrary, party activities must be subject to constitutional restraints. The party must exercise power legally in accordance with the constitution. In other words, it must have a sense of constitutionalism.

Question: It is immensely difficult to establish the authority of the constitution and the law. Constitutional provisions often carry less weight than the word of a party leader.

Answer: It is not easy to instill in the entire people the concept of the rule of law. A big part of the current drive to "universalize the law" is formalistic, while the constitution is cast aside in the process. To "universalize the law," we must begin by making it applicable to everybody. For example, the expression, "obey the law," seems to apply to the people alone. I think the leaders should be the first to obey the law. Traditionally the Chinese set great store by ethics but belittled the law. The notion that the law exists to control the people but not officials is also deeply rooted. Then too China is a nation with no democratic tradition. In this it differs from Western Europe and the United States, which underwent a democratic revolution and decades of apprenticeship in democracy. Therefore it is democracy which lies at the heart of the restructuring of the political system. It can be said that without democracy there can be no modernization or socialism. In the past, what we had was not only the rule of man, but in fact also party rule. Now that we want the rule of law, all these ideas must be overhauled. Chairman Deng Xiaoping recently said that the party should not interfere in the law excessively, otherwise it will undermine the effort to establish the rule of law among the entire people. I think this guiding principle is very sound. It takes this kind of spirit to end party rule and begin the rule of law.

#### How Should We Read the Unsettled Wang Ruoshui Case

Question: If we now realize the inappropriateness of putting the law totally under party control, then how do we explain the establishment of the political and legal commissions at the central and local levels? This question must be addressed if there is to be a functional separation between party and government.

Answer: I am not too clear about some legal matters myself. My understanding is that if it is not right for the party to intervene in legal matters, we must try to work out many specific questions. The party must not be a multi-functional institution, or else we will still wind up with party rule, with the party running everything, with everybody doing the party's bidding. Actually it is open to discussion whether or not the need exists for a political and legal commission in the wake of the functional separation between government and party. In any case we must respect the constitution and the people's wishes.

Question: Now that we advocate "relaxation and harmony," why can't Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055] be rehabilitated? Why can't some of his essays be published except anonymously?

Answer: The Wang Ruoshui case will be resolved sooner or later. Public opinion will decide which is right and which is wrong. His persistent struggle for truth is admirable. We are old friends. However, "leftist" forces cannot be eliminated shortly but only over a long period of time. Then

the Wang Ruoshui case will be readily solved. No longer can one person dominate the situation today.

Question: Some people think that SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO dares to tell the truth and speak up because it has behind-the-scenes backing, from the State Council, according to certain people. What is your reaction?

Answer: SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO gets its support from the people, from society, and from the times. We set the publication's tone the day it was founded: It is going to be a paper of courage, of insight. It is going to make a difference. If we could not achieve this, we would rather not stay in business. Essentially SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO relies on the older generation of economists and scholars, middle-aged and young theoretical workers, as well as well-wishers overseas and students studying abroad.

(The text of the interview has not been reviewed by Mr. Qin Benli. Any errors and omissions are solely my responsibility.)

12581

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLITICAL REFORM UNDER 1-PARTY SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHIUSHIH NIENTAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese No 200, Sep 86 pp 40-41

[Article by Huan Kuo-ts'ang [1360 0948 5547]: "Political Reform under One-Party System"]

[Text] For a state to carry out reform under a 1-party system, following are the requisites: 1) a pluralistic economic and cultural structure; 2) self-reform of the party in power; and 3) some organ to supervise the party in power.

It is both proper and necessary for a political reform to promote, "support" and create a favorable environment for the economic reform now in progress; otherwise, it would be difficult to conduct an in-depth economic reform and to consolidate its gains in such a country as China where political and economic powers are combined and highly centralized. The reason is especially obvious in the reform of the industrial system in the cities. The economic reform in cities is different from that in the countryside, because those who originally got the benefits cannot "become rich ahead of others" and those who have "become rich ahead of others" cannot improve their political position. For this reason, one of the objectives of the political reform should be to alleviate the contradiction between these two types of people and to guarantee their benefits and political position. In other words, the policy of economic "redemption" should be implemented for the former under a sound legal system, and to affirm and protect the latter's political position and economic gains by law.

However, the main body of China's urban industry is under the systems of state ownership and collective ownership. It is true that individual industry and commerce have developed fairly rapidly in recent years, but their output value amounts to only 2 or 3 percent of the GVIO. The benefits of the interest groups (including the administrators, technicians and workers) which are subordinate to the main body should be protected under the principle of full and fair competition. One function of the political reform is to ensure the smooth progress of the competition under the political system and with political power. In other words, not only the enterprises should enjoy greater independence in business operations as legal entities in name as well as in fact, but also the entrepreneurs' political position should be further raised. Kornai, a famous Hungarian economist, has made these thought

provoking remarks: As long as the leader of an enterprise is appointed by the state, his first responsibility is to the state, but not the market or the enterprise itself.

However, to say that political reform is necessary for the economic reform is only an understatement. Under certain conditions, the political development of a society can be very independent, namely, independent of the economic development of the society. Consequently, the political reform of a society may have, and should have political objectives of a noneconomic, or even noncultural nature, because the people as the basic social unit, the interest groups, the state and the society as a whole have also their basic political aspirations and interests of a noneconomic nature. These political aspirations and interests cannot be simply included under the category of economy, or subordinated to the economic aspirations and interests of the basic units of the social structure. Similarly, the ways and means to satisfy the political aspirations and to obtain political gains must not be subordinated to those used in the society's economic life. For this reason, the political reform should not be treated as an appendage of the economic reform especially because the former can, and should, promote the latter's development. The more important and more fundamental objective of a political reform should be to establish and to perfect the democratic and pluralistic political system. People's quest for political rights cannot and should not be confined within the limits of economic interests.

China after Mao is now undergoing an extremely profound and significant "nonpolitical" change. The void created by people's indifference to, and then their abhorrence of bureaucratism has been filled by their quest for economic interests. But this does not mean that they are really apathetic to the society's political life. Quite the contrary, this change essentially shows that people are finally aware of their real interests, and that the personal interests, which have been politically and culturally belittled for a long time in China have reached the point of self-discovery and sublimation during the reexamination of the "cultural revolution." These interests are not only economic, but also political, although the awareness of political interests is just beginning and expressed generally in passive "nonparticipation." However, it cannot be denied that the change from the days of the "antirightist movement" and the "cultural revolution"--when one word of command was enough to start an all-out attack by the broad masses--to the time of conscious resistance against the "anticorruption" adverse current represents a historic progress. The fundamental task of the political reform should be the promotion of political interests under the political system and with political power so that these interests can be legalized and institutionalized. One way to set up a pluralistic political society is to affirm, protect and develop the political aspirations, political interests and political power of the individuals--the most basic unit of society. Without individual freedom and democracy, there can be no social freedom and democracy either. Individual freedom and democracy mean real freedom and democracy which represent a "leap" from the abstract to the concrete, and from phrasemongering to reality.

In a country under a one-party system, it would be impossible to keep party and government functions entirely separated. When the party in power is

unwilling to permit any competition (note that it is only competition and not struggle) from other political interest groups, and these groups cannot function independently, how can there be a transition to a pluralistic political structure? In my opinion, the key points are as follows: First, we should gradually form a pluralistic economic and a pluralistic cultural structure. The former is now shown by the methods used in developing different economic sectors and different systems of ownership during the economic reform. In this connection, a task in the political reform should be to promote this development, to establish a corresponding political system, and to encourage the newly emerging economic interest groups to develop gradually into new political interest groups striving for political benefits under the protection of law. The latter means the "creation of a fairly easy political environment" for cultural development. More important still, the party in power itself should create a new political ideology to support its reform policy. "Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth" does not mean that there is no need for theory. The fact that the success of the conservative forces in stirring up trouble repeatedly in the past several years was directly related to the failure on the part of the reform forces to put forward, with boldness and perfect assurance, a new set of theories in the realm of ideology, precisely shows such a need.

Second, the party in power should reform itself. It must forego some of its special privileges and win more popular support. As for the organizational reform, the change in the role of the party organizations after the rural reform has shown a new way for the transformation of the party and its position in the society. It means that the party organizations will no longer make policy decisions in economic life, and will gradually take up "sparetime" jobs. If efforts can be made in this direction during the urban reform; if the party's door can be opened for those who are willing to join the party and to offer some "sparetime" services; if joining the party does not automatically mean, and is not an indispensable condition for being a government official; and if the party organizations will no longer be tied up with government and enterprise activities and will be concerned with the people's livelihood instead, then the character of the party in power will undergo a healthy change.

Third, some supervisory organ for the party in power should be set up and the independence and authority of the people's congress, the judicial organs and the press should be strengthened. The party in power should be responsible to the people's congress which should have the power to call the party in power to account, and the party in power failing to account for its own action should resign. The NPC deputies should have the power to impeach the members of the party in power. These deputies should be elected directly by the voters in election campaigns. The judicial organs must be accountable to the law but not to the party in power, and the party in power has no right to interfere with judicial functions. There must be not only "equality of all people before the law" but also "equality of both the party in power and the other legal entities before the law."

9411

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'4 CARDINAL PRINCIPLES' HAMPER POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

Hong Kong PAI HSING in Chinese No 127, 1 Sep 86 p 53

[Article by Yang Xinyuan [2799 1800 3293]: "The 'Four Cardinal Principles' Are an Impediment to Political Structural Reform"]

[Text] A New Twist in China's History

During the "May Fourth Movement," the Chinese beckoned "Mr. De" and "Mr. Sai" warmly. Unfortunately, denied the right of residence by feudal forces in China, the two gentlemen did not come.

Today, almost 70 years later, the Chinese are again beckoning them. In recent months, as they reaffirm the principle--"let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend"--people are engaged in a lively debate, arguing openly that what needs to be uprooted is not "decadent capitalist ideas and practices," but the adverse influences of deep-rooted feudal remnants on politics, economy, culture, society, and ideology. Intellectuals branded as "rightists" by Mao Zedong in the past are again raising the banner of "democracy and freedom" and restating their philosophy of 30 years ago. This is the new scene in China today, which can be described as a turning point in China's history. Seven years' experience in economic reform proves that we have reached a point where political reform has become inevitable.

Several major Beijing newspapers and theoretical publications have published successively a number of exploratory articles on the restructuring of the political system. From what I can see so far, these articles are a source of enlightenment for the benighted. The writers direct the thrust of their arguments squarely at the "four cardinal principles," the enclosing wall built by Deng Xiaoping with reinforced cement and electrified wire netting. Reading them sends a chill down one's spine even at the height of summer.

Yu Haocheng [0060 3185 2052], found guilty for his opinions last year, writes, "If we agree with the notion that the 'two hundreds' principle must be implemented on the basis of a clear demarcation between intellectual issues and political issues, then we in effect go along, at least tacitly, with the suggestion that while intellectual issues are open to discussion, political issues are off-limits. How then can the people still be regarded as the

masters of the nation? Wouldn't all the talk about 'a high level of democracy' and so on become idle theorizing?"

Li Honglin [2621 3163 2651], a pioneer theorist who was also found guilty for the opinions he held, wrote an essay last year calling for democracy. He argued that unaccompanied by political democracy, the four-modernization drive will only lead to a "dictatorship of the Hitler variety" even if it succeeds. Were Mao Zedong to come back to life today, Li Honglin is completely qualified to be Hu Feng [5170 7364] the Second.

#### Hu Qiaomu Brandishes His Big Stick

A "youth seminar on the restructuring and development of China's political system" was held in Beijing recently. All attendants were young people who dare to think and speak up. The seminar discussed the most sensitive topics, such as checks and balances among Chinese political institutions and ways to reconcile the relations between the laws of the state and party policies. Quoting the experience of democracies around the world, the young people pointed out that China's "enemy" is not capitalism but feudalism. Since it was a seminar, participants should be allowed to air all they knew without being found culpable. Unexpectedly the theoretical authority, Hu Qiaomu [5170 2890 2606], who was there to guide the seminar, again brandished his big stick, "You quote this and that. Why don't you quote the works of Karl Marx?" This silenced the young people even though they were inwardly seething with anger.

Reviewing the experience, a theoretical worker who signed himself Chen Shi concluded, "The gravest threat to freedom comes from power centralization, from coercive power." "While an enlightened government or a tolerant leader may bring about freedom, this kind of freedom is very fragile and limited. Once you overstep the limits of the regime, your freedom may be snatched away anytime."

The scenario he describes coincides with Hu Qiaomu's actions. Put it another way, the latter's behavior objectively bears out the writer's theory.

#### The Speaker Renders A Service; The Listener Benefits

All these ideas clearly contradict the "four cardinal principles." The so-called "four cardinal principles" are: 1) uphold party leadership, 2) keep to the socialist road; 3) uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat; and 4) uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The most important is that concerning "party leadership." During almost 4 decades of communist rule in China, whether in the Mao Zedong or post-Mao Zedong era, the people in power all subscribe to party leadership as their creed. And it is exactly because of this supremacy of party leadership that China has remained a society ruled by man and not by law. The principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," first put forward 30 years ago, has been flaunted as a sign that China enjoys most democracy and freedom in the world. In fact, never does a day pass by when the feudal dictatorship does not abuse its power and dismiss political and academic issues as anti-party, anti-socialist, and counterrevolutionary, on the slightest provocation. In his criticism of the novel, "Liu Zhidan," Mao Zedong handed down the highest



instruction, "It is a great invention to oppose the party in the guise of fiction." Wu Han [0702 2498] lost his life for writing "The Dismissal of Hai Rui." More recently, Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159] came under tremendous pressure because of his work, "The Second Kind of Loyalty." All this is well known. The tortuous course of "the two hundreds" principle over the past 3 decades, the way "creative freedom" is granted only to be taken away immediately--all that proves "party leadership" is sacred and inviolable.

Wan Li told a software research conference on 31 July, "If people are not allowed to express themselves freely on internal political issues, leaving the leaders to run the show, how can we even begin to talk about a 'high level of democracy?'" "We should encourage the free expression of views, lift the censorship on speech, and earnestly bring about the freedom of speech provided by the constitution." He added, "We used to say, 'Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words.' This is correct, but it is still a little passive. More actively we should say, 'The speaker is doing us a good turn and the listener benefits.'"

Intellectuals, however, point out that if we adhere to the four principles, then there will be no "high level of democracy" worth speaking of. This is because "socialism" has been renamed "Chinese socialism." What is its definition? "The dictatorship of the proletariat" has been changed to "democratic dictatorship of the people." How are we to reconcile "democracy" with "dictatorship"? The power to define "Marxism-Leninism" and "Mao Zedong Thought" lies completely in the hands of the powers that be. All these new definitions are made by them in response to objective needs.

A common thesis in the articles of those writers who have spoken up is that the restructuring of China's political system should focus on the four cardinal principles. Actually by calling for a breakthrough in Marxist-Leninist theory, the authorities themselves are zeroing in on the principle of "upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought."

Recently Deng Xiaoping also emphasized a "functional separation between party and government." At present it is hard to say how far they are prepared to push this. For instance, will the implementation of the constitution be subordinate to "party leadership?" Must courts of law yield to "party leadership?" Can the people publicly criticize senior party cadres? How is the relationship between party cadres as public servants and the people as master really achieved in fact? All these are thorny problems.

In any case, the CPC is acutely aware that political reform cannot wait any longer. That various sensitive matters and taboo subjects are discussed openly in the press is a new dimension in China's political life. As Chinese living abroad, we applaud this kind of progress.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'POLITICAL TRANSPARENCY', POLITICAL REFORM DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Han Tao [3352 3447]: "Political Transparency"]

[Text] The term "political" is used in Chinese society with great frequency. What surprises is that many view this so familiar term as something unattainably high, some even as unfathomable. Nor so long ago, Yuan Geng [5913 1649], chairman of the Shekou Administrative Committee, put forward the idea of a "political transparency," an issue on which this writer would like to comment.

In May and June of last year, Yuan Geng made the following remarks in a speech at the Center for Contemporary Asian Research of the Chinese University of Hong Kong: "We propose political transparency, we propose the people's right to be politically informed, and we advocate freedom of speech within the limits of the constitution." These views are perhaps not particularly profound, but in this writer's opinion they are highly important in that they raise the problem of greater democratization throughout the political system.

In our Chinese society, it is a given that politics are people's politics, and there ought to be a high degree of transparency in politics. The so-called "political transparency" is actually the people's right to knowledge, right to free expression, and the right to supervise political life, as laid down in the constitution. The people should have all these political rights. To effectively realize these rights for the people--rights which they ought to have right from the start--is acting in the proper sense of the term. However, having experienced the turmoil of the "cultural revolution," many comrades have become completely unaware of this fact. Some people consider "political transparency" as equal to the "four big freedoms" [speaking out freely, airing views freely, holding great debates, and writing big character posters] and take fright. This is really regrettable.

Some people may perhaps question whether we have the corresponding economic, cultural, and social preconditions that can guarantee "political transparency". I am optimistic. Let us discuss Shekou, a place now in the process of becoming a modern industrial society, with an economy that can be regarded as well developed, inhabited by people with a fairly high level of education, with strong ideas and consciousness of democracy, and also a place

with fairly high administrative efficiency. In these economic and social circumstances, there not only exists all the conditions for a planned, step by step democratic experiment, but its very existence, of necessity, requires the strong impetus of "political transparency" for its economic and social development. This is not only true for Shekou, but also for Guangzhou and Shanghai. We may say that everywhere throughout China, as it is now opening up a broad path of socialist modernizations, there exist the preconditions and the desire for realization of "political transparency," because the term "strong socialist country" itself implies the existence of a political system with a high degree of democracy.

Of course, under current social conditions, there are still other specific meanings in the "political transparency" that Yuan Geng speaks of. In the broad area covered by the term, the two most important facets, in my opinion, are: participation by the masses in the selection of cadres and in policy decisions. Our cadres are the servants of the people, which means not only to do more good things for the people, but, what is more important, to genuinely and sincerely respect the democratic rights of the masses and to conscientiously accept the democratic supervision of the masses. Should there be a cadre who, once in power, will have "politics" disappear in his own pockets, and assume the attitude of a "lord who has attained his empire," a man like this, even if he does a few good deeds, will give them the flavor of "favours bestowed." On the other hand, entrusting someone with a responsible office without any supervision is also extremely dangerous. Since 1982, the Shekou industrial region gradually instituted public opinion polls in the selection of cadres, and later also has the election of its administrative committee carried out by direct secret ballot. This democratically created administrative committee holds regular news conferences, when it publicizes the condition of enterprises and of its administration, and whatever measures it has taken, encouraging the masses as well as specialized scientific groups to give their opinions on administrative matters. It will not check drafts of articles to be published in newspapers, but will encourage the masses to name names when criticizing the leadership, etc. I believe the true meaning of their actions is to have the masses attain their political rights. If such actions are earnestly continued and resolutely kept up, politics will, in the eyes of the masses, gain a growing measure of "transparency."

The guarantee of "transparency" in China's society, through the reform of the political system is a most important issue. Strengthening and expanding socialist democracy will give fullest expression to the desires and demands of the broad masses in the matter of policy decisions, a fact which will supplement and complement efforts to achieve greater efficiency in the political system.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Hong Kong LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese No 36, 8 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Bao Xin [7637 0207]: "Development of Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] Dear Friend,

Some people recently said that 1986 can be called "culture and ideology year." With good reasons. People in all walks of life have been talking about ways to strengthen the development of socialist spiritual civilization since the beginning of the year. The 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, soon to be convened, has also put the development of the spiritual civilization on its agenda. Thus we can see that it is a major issue which all people, from top to bottom, are interested in.

Why raise the development of the spiritual civilization at this point in time? Even as people at home and abroad show a common interest in this matter, some are skeptical or have a hazy understanding of the situation.

There are those who say, for instance, that China has run into difficulties in its drive to restructure the economic system and has turned to the development of the "spiritual civilization" as a way of overcoming the barriers it faces. This is both correct and incorrect.

It is correct because to a certain extent it does portray the relations between spiritual civilization and material civilization. Over the past few years China has been restructuring the economic system, opening itself to the outside world, and vitalizing the economy. As a result, the economy has bounced back and commodity production has taken off. These achievements are indeed considerable. Pressing ahead with reform, with the policy of opening itself to the outside world, and with economic invigoration, the nation soon ran into problems: Old ideas, concepts, habits, and practices do not adapt to new conditions and must be changed and the quality of its culture fails to meet the new requirements and must be improved. It is against this backdrop that the development of the spiritual civilization was put forward as something that should proceed in tandem with the development of the material civilization. China subscribes to materialism, contending that the economic base determines the superstructure. When the economic base changes, the superstructure--including culture and ideology--must change with it.

It is incorrect for the following reasons. Some people argue that with their reform movement stalled, China has decided to launch a political movement to compel compliance. "After all, all political movements historically fired their opening salvos in the realm of culture, arts, and literature." This theory cannot be more wrong. First, the Chinese Communist Party considers the current reform the self-improvement of a socialist society. Instead of witch-hunting, society discovers and corrects spontaneously its own shortcomings. Second, the spiritual civilization covers a lot of ground, from ideology and theory to culture, science, education, and ethical climate. As a long-term mission in the improvement of the quality of an entire nation, it cannot be brought about by any movement. Besides, the Chinese Communists have declared that it will not again launch any movement. Therefore we need not wrack our brains at all along this line.

There is yet another theory. Now that reform, economic vitalization, and the policy of opening China to the outside world have begun to pay handsome dividends, the nation and the people will gradually become prosperous and strong if these policies are continued. So, some people argue, let's deal with economic development first and put spiritual civilization on the back burner, otherwise we may be spreading our energies too thin. This well-intentioned worry is understandable, but is no guide for action. The reason is simple. Society progresses in two ways, materially and spiritually, or what we call material and spiritual civilizations today. It can develop rapidly and smoothly only if the two civilizations develop simultaneously and harmoniously. Herein lies the reason why the CPC Central Committee proposed that we "grapple" with the socialist spiritual civilization and material civilization "at the same time."

What are the ultimate goals of developing a spiritual civilization? Much has been said about them by Chinese leaders, and it can be summarized as follows: live up to the demands of socialist modernization and improve the quality of the morals, science, and culture of the entire Chinese nation in accordance with the principles of ideals, morality, culture, and discipline so that Chinese society will be one where science and culture flourish and which will develop a clear sense of direction, nurture a sound moral climate, and build a strong democracy with comprehensive laws. It follows from these goals that every positive idea and spirit that promotes the four modernizations and helps vitalize China and reunify the motherland, every positive idea and spirit that benefits the state, nation, society, and people and uses honest labor to achieve a better life--all that should be respected, protected, and disseminated. If we build a spiritual civilization in accordance with these goals, China will gradually develop into a lively, dynamic society where democracy coexists with centralization, where freedom coexists with discipline, where individuals enjoy peace of mind, and where interpersonal relations are harmonious.

In my opinion, the proposal of the Chinese Communists for the building of a spiritual civilization results from thorough consideration and constitutes part of the overall modernization strategy of Chinese society. The general outline of this strategy now seems clear: with economic development as its focus, China is to restructure its economic and political systems and build a

spiritual civilization--simultaneously and in a way that is coordinated and benefits one another.

There are reports that after many amendments, the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee recently approved in principle the Central Committee's draft resolution on guidelines for the development of a spiritual civilization. Comments on the document are now being sought from ministries and commissions in the party and government and from leaders on party committees at the provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional levels. It will finally be submitted to the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee for its consideration and approval.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TIANJIN MAYOR ON ENCOURAGING LITERATURE, ART

HK260001 Hong Kong LIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION No 37, 15 Sep 86 pp 3-5

[Article by LIAOWANG reporter Zhang Shuying [1728 3219 5391]: "Tianjin Mayor Li Ruihuan on Making Literature and Art Flourish"]

[Excerpts] Recently, at a forum on the creation of literature and art called by the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee and Government, Li Ruihuan, Mayor of Tianjin, held a heart-to-heart talk with the writers and artists and aired some penetrating opinions. His talk caused widespread repercussions at and after the forum. The participants were impressed not only by the importance the mayor attached to literature and art work but also by the issues, which are of common interest to them. Therefore, his talk struck a strong sympathetic chord among the writers and artists. Before the meeting, Li Ruihuan had managed to find some time to conduct a systematic and deepgoing investigation of the current literature and art work, had studied the expositions of the classic Marxist writers regarding literature and art, read a number of controversial works, watched dozens of videotapes, and held discussions with hundreds of literature and art workers. On this basis, he wrote a speech outline of tens of thousands of words.

Li Ruihuan said that in his capacity as an ordinary literature and art enthusiast he was starting the discussion with them with the aim of "stirring up some ripples with his participation," so as to do his bit in invigorating the literature and art work and making it flourish.

Among the three issues he talked about, he stressed the issue of creating a relaxed environment to promote the development of literature and art. He said that this is an issue of the greatest interest to the literature and art circles as well as the key to the flourishing of literature and art. Since this issue involves many aspects and is relatively sensitive and complex, it is very difficult to give an accurate and comprehensive account of it. Therefore, I hope that you will also give me a relaxed environment so that I can say what is in my mind freely.

I. The Issue of the Relationship Between the Creation of Literature and Art and the Environment

Li Ruihuan said that to produce good artistic work, literature and art workers must carry out independent and complex mental labor. This kind of production

pattern determines that the production of art is a spiritual activity requiring a high degree of democracy and freedom and incompatible with excessive intervention and mechanical control. As spiritual products are also required to be colorful and varied, they should always shun monotony and uniformity, as well as any formulism and commandism. Moreover, the personal understanding and practice of literature and art workers always have some limitations and their products cannot possibly reach the acme of perfection and be completely free of error. Therefore, a relaxed and harmonious environment is absolutely necessary in the practice of art. And whether people can consciously uphold freedom of creation and strive to cultivate a relaxed and stable environment for creation is an issue of whether people can act according to the rules governing the production of art. Meanwhile, upholding freedom of creation is an important principle of the literature and art thought of Marxism.

First, I disagree that the "leftist things" in literature and art circles have not yet been fundamentally eliminated and that "there is still some chill in the warm air." I think that following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the atmosphere of freedom and relaxation in the literature and art circles has been unprecedented and it is the best time to carry out the "double hundred" policy. The simplest example is that people can now air their opinions freely, and this is a demonstration of the relaxed environment. Over these years, the leading comrades of the Party Central Committee have been always advocating that the literature and art circles should have a harmonious and friendly atmosphere, a lively and relaxed environment, and a general mood favorable to competition among the different artistic styles and schools. Under the guidance of the correct principle and policy of the central authorities, people at all levels have made great efforts in creating a relaxed environment. Although there have been some twists and turns in the process, an excellent environment and atmosphere which is favorable to the flourishing of literature and art has begun to appear. Second, I do not think that we have already reached the stage of complete relaxation. There is still something to be desired. One of the things which we have not yet attained is the degree of relaxation cherished by us and needed for the flourishing of literature and art. For example, the phenomenon of exercising excessive intervention in literature and art works still occurs from time to time. Some literature and art works exposing the contradictions in reality and touching on current malpractices are often criticized by some people and the writers of these works are wilfully censured and the units which publish, broadcast, or stage them are often reproached. For another example, some people tend to use traditional concepts as the standard by which to judge the explorations and experiments in literature and art creation, indiscriminately accuse some new ideas or concepts of being on contradiction to classical works, and indiscreetly rebut and simplistically negate them. When new and talented literature and art workers who are relatively naive but who have potential for development become eminent, they are often subjected to harsh nitpicking and maliciously slandered by some people. There are also other examples. If you agree with my above-mentioned views, you can reach this conclusion: As the environment for literature and art is really much better than before, we should feel happy about and treasure it. However, a relaxed and stable environment for literature and art has not yet completely taken shape, and we should continue to strive for it.



## II. The Aims and Functions of Literature and Art

Li Ruihuan said that how to understand the aims and functions of literature and art is an issue of fundamental importance. Over a long period of time in the past, we regarded the concepts that "literature and art must be subordinate to politics" and that "literature and art must serve politics" as the fundamental aims of literature and art. Therefore, even though literature and art and politics all belong to the superstructure, the relationship between them was turned into one between principal and subordinate and one of dependency. Not only did this deviate from the fundamental principles of historical materialism in theory, but it also brought about an unfavorable impact on the cause of literature and art in practice, resulting in monotony in the themes, styles, patterns, and types of literature and art. Summing up the historical experiences and lessons, the Party Central Committee has reassigned the general tasks and fundamental aims of literature and art work and proposed the slogan that "literature and art should serve the people and socialism." This is a development and enrichment of Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art.

He said that since the fundamental aim of socialist literature and art is to meet to the maximum the needs of the spiritual life of the broad masses of people, we should have a more comprehensive, extensive, and accurate understanding of the functions of literature and art. First, of the three functions, of education, understanding, and aesthetic judgment, of literature and art, we should properly stress and give prominence to the functions of understanding and aesthetic judgment, which were permanently overlooked. In other words, in doing all literature and art work, we should attach importance to expanding people's field of vision in life, increasing their peoples knowledge in various aspects, improving their ability in observing and understanding life, and helping them establish a scientific world outlook. Moreover, we should pay attention to eulogizing all the true, good, and beautiful things and opposing all the false, bad, and ugly things, so as to enable people to enjoy the beautiful things, mold their temperaments, and cultivate healthy aesthetic concepts.

## III. Standards of Literature and Art

Speaking of the standards of literature and art, Li Ruihuan said that this is an issue of more divergent views. In particular, there has been great dispute over the status of and relationship between political and artistic standards, which directly affects the environment for creation and the criticism of literature and art.

As a component part of the ideological field, does literature and art have political standards? The answer should be positive. I think that in this new historic period, the political standards of literature and art should be related to the four cardinal principles of the party. Since the four cardinal principles are our country's constitutional principles, to be followed in all fields of social life, literature and art should, of course, be no exception. As important principles in a historic period, the four cardinal principles should be understood and mastered in the light of an overall point of view. We

can neither demand that literature and art works simplistically portray them nor accuse criticisms of reality in literature and art works of running counter to the four cardinal principles.

The issue at the moment is how, on the premise of upholding the four cardinal principles, we make writers and artists further emancipate their minds, pay more attention to artistic standards, and concentrate on creating literature and art works with a higher artistic quality.

#### IV. Attitudes Toward the Literary and Art Circles

Li Ruihuan said that over a long period of time the environment for literature and art creation has not been sufficiently relaxed and stable. Apart from the above-mentioned reasons, there is also the issue of attitudes toward the literary and art circles. If it is said that because of the influence of "leftist" thinking, we made a wrong estimation of intellectuals, and therefore adopted the wrong policies, resulting in great losses to our cause, we also made a wrong estimation of the literature and art contingent.

What is the present condition of the literature and art contingent? As far as Tianjin is concerned, it is a completely trustworthy contingent, as most of the literature and art workers are of a high level of political consciousness and good quality. If we all agree with this estimation, then we had better carry out a review to see whether something is wrong with our leadership in the literature and art work. I think that there are, at least, issues of distrust, reluctance to remove controls, rigid control, and excessive intervention. Relating to this, people also do not have a correct attitude toward the social capacity and function of literature and art. As ideology, literature and art surely, to certain extent, acts on and influences political, economic, and social life. Nevertheless, literature and art is, after all, literature and art. Looking through both foreign and Chinese history, we just cannot find a precedent for a single novel, drama, or song being able to overthrow a political regime or found a country. I said that some of our comrades tend to overestimate the social capacity of literature and art. Because of this, a small mistake might develop into a great disturbance and would seem to become such a big upheaval in the world that a great number of people would have to be dragged in to launch a massive attack. On the other hand, the work of literature and art is often so underestimated that it is often excluded from the agenda and many actual problems cannot be resolved over a long period of time. We have really learned a profound lesson from the overestimation and underestimation of literature and art.

Third, regarding the issue of treating the mistakes of the literature and art workers correctly, I hold that we should set strict demands on writers and artists while demanding no perfection. I have said on many occasions that people all have strong points as well as weak points. Sometimes, their weaknesses are the causes of their strengths and their strengths are the results of their weaknesses. In treating a person, we should first of all pay attention to his strengths and then help him overcome his weaknesses in the process of bringing the former into play rather than finding fault with his shortcomings in the first place. When judging a writer or artist, we should primarily see

whether he is enthusiastic about the cause of literature and art and whether he can create more literature and art works which are well-received by the broad masses of people, but should not be overcritical of trifling matters of his everyday life.

#### V. The Issue of Literary and Art Criticism

Li Ruihuan pointed out that at present literary and art criticism is both fruitful and unsatisfactory. For a long time, people have been talking about the importance of literary and art criticism every day. However, regrettably a considerable number of our comrades do not have a true understanding of the value and function of criticism in all literary and artistic activities. Therefore, the persuasive and exemplary role of criticism in literary and artistic practice and theory have not been fully brought into play. On the contrary, it has become a weapon for carrying out "leftist" thinking and terrifying writers and artists. It has been proved that to conduct literary and art criticism, first, we should not "follow temporary tendencies" but safeguard the continuity of the party's literature and art policies. Second, we should avoid by all means "favoring one side." We should neither pay extraordinary respect to superiors nor fail to attach importance to the opinions of inferiors, but uphold everyone's equality before the truth. Third, we should oppose the practice of "what I say goes." We should be broadminded and lenient and employ the method of fair discussion and sufficient reasoning to allow everyone to fully air his own views. Regarding the rights and wrongs of literary and artistic creation and theory, we should rely on the literary and art circles to explore and contend. The responsibility of leaders is to actively guide the explorations and contentions so as to make the contention develop in a healthy atmosphere and a correct orbit, rather than making decisive judgments. I agree very much with some of Comrade Wang Meng's opinions. He hopes that literary and art criticism will be normalized, that the attitude of writers and artists toward criticism will be normalized, and that the reports by foreign friends and reporters about Chinese literary and art criticism will be normalized. I would like to add another hope, that when foreign reports of Chinese literary and art criticism are not very normal, people should not raise a storm in a teacup, either. In sum, in a certain sense, only when literary and art criticism begin to become normal can we relax the environment for writers and artists. I hope that people will make common efforts.

The speech of Li Ruihuan greatly excited the participants. Writer Feng Jicai humorously said that listening to the speech by Mayor Li was very much like eating watermelon in the dog days: it quenches my thirst and keeps me cool. His expositions of the aims and functions of literature and art are as creative and original as his approach to urban construction. Writer Jiang Zilong said that this heart-to-heart talk has enabled him to break some of his mental fetters. This should be the time for writers and artists to carry out their great plans.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

JOURNAL REPORTS ON CPC HIGH-LEVEL CONFERENCE

HK260231 Hong Kong KUANG CHIAO CHING [WIDE ANGLE] in Chinese No 168, 16 Sep 86  
pp 6-9

[Article by Chou Jung [0719 5816]: "Inside Story of the High-level Conference at Beidaihe -- The 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and China's Major Changes"; first four paragraphs printed in boldface]

[Excerpts] This summer the senior CPC leaders made a number of major policy decisions at Beidaihe. A "Draft Resolution" is being circulated throughout the country to solicit opinions; as of early September the wording had been revised five times.

Deng Xiaoping has time and again asked to retire from office. The CPC will no longer decide on members of the "third echelon" internally.

Some members of the CPC Central Committee have been recalled because they could not properly carry out their duties. Huang Huang, secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee, has been discharged from his post and prosecuted for accepting bribes. After the "6th Plenary Session," the CPC will announce a series of changes, including change of personnel at high levels.

Overall arrangements cover economic reform, political reform and spiritual civilization.

The exclusive front-page report: "Deng Xiaoping Wants to Retire from Office" carried in the June issue of this journal has been certified by Deng Xiaoping himself.

Since the spring sessions of China's NPC and national CPPCC this year, the demand for carrying out political economic, military and cultural reform simultaneously has been steadily increasing. At the end of June, Deng Xiaoping made an important statement on reform of the political structure. He said that we must make preparations for 2 years and that the Central Committee Secretariat should take the lead in promoting the work. This summer the CPC leaders gathered at Beidaihe, a summer resort, which is regarded as their summer office. They made a series of major policy decisions on topics for discussion at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee as well as on China's domestic and foreign affairs. The 6th Plenary Session is

to be held in Beijing in September. The meeting will discuss some concrete proposals for China's current reforms. At Beidaihe and in Beijing, this reporter heard many inside stories from authoritative sources, which will be presented to our readers in this article.

#### Many Major Policies Are Decided at Beidaihe

Just in the past 2 years Beidaihe has become China's summer capital. At the foot of Lianfeng Mountain, west of the city proper, are a number of attractive villas with gardens. In the summer these villas are used as offices by the CPC Central Committee Secretariat and Politburo, the NPC Standing Committee and the National CPPCC. At the entrance to these villas, people can see lookout posts and signs reading "No admittance for travellers." An auditorium there, which used to be a club for senior cadres, is now known as "Huaiyuan Hall" in China's summer capital. It is in "Huaiyuan Hall" that many major policy decisions have been made. The importance of Beidaihe has been made known to the world. In the summer of 1984, Deng Xiaoping secretly discussed matters of vital importance there concerning the Hong Kong issue with Ji Pengfei, Wu Xueqian and Zhou Nan. In the summer of 1985, Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, Peng Zhen and Deng Yingchao met several important foreign personages at Beidaihe.

#### This Summer, Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun Were the First to Come to Beidaihe

It has been learned that this summer Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun and other founding members of the CPC came to Beidaihe earlier than others. Because they are now free of day-to-day work, it is not necessary for them to appear before the public very often. Other party and government leaders came and met at Beidaihe only when they were needed for consultation on topics for discussion at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and to discuss the aim and concrete plans for carrying out reform in various fields. On 1 September, HONGQI published the speech made by Wang Zhaoguo at the graduation ceremony of students of the CPC Central Committee party school. The speech revealed that the Chinese authorities planned to accelerate the overall restructuring of the national economy, with the focus on the urban economy, and made clear the importance of reforming the political structure and of the "overall arrangements" between reform and the building of spiritual civilization.

#### The Cause and Effect of Reforming the Political Structure

Since the beginning of this summer, the voices of personalities of various circles for reform of the political structure have become ever more strong. As a matter of fact, early in August 1980, Deng Xiaoping proposed to reform the leadership system of the party and state at an enlarged session of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau, calling for eradication of the "root cause of the special form of bureaucracy existing in our country." At the Beidaihe conference, this statement was regarded as a programmatic document for guiding China's reform of the political structure.

Reform of the political structure and that of the economic structure depend on each other and are coordinated with each other. The political structure has

to be reformed. Otherwise it will be impossible to ensure economic reform. One of the major aspects in economic reform is to improve the way of managing the national economy by the state. This calls for separating the functions of the party and government and for the solution of the question of overcentralized power. To invigorate the economy, it is necessary to delegate powers to lower levels and offer more decision-making powers to enterprises. However, some local authorities are trying to regain lost powers. They are trying to take back the powers delegated to lower levels in the form of setting up companies. This will chill the initiative of enterprises. Deng Xiaoping and other CPC senior leaders believe party organizations should know how to assume leadership and should not exercise unwise interference; otherwise party leadership will be weakened. For example, many problems in the scope of law and society should be settled by the state or government according to law and by means of social education. There is too much party interference. It goes so far as to deal with criminal cases as problems of the party's work style. This prevents us from establishing legal sense among the people. All these are problems involving the political structure.

Deng Xiaoping has said that opening up to the outside world and carrying out reform are the most important policies that we are pursuing. When he paid an inspection visit to Tianjin on 21 August on his way back to Beijing from Beidaihe, Deng Xiaoping said with full confidence: "Without the open policy, it will be impossible to invigorate the domestic economy, and there is no question of retrenching on this policy in any respect."

With regard to the question of whether the reform of the political structure will be taken as a topic for discussion at the forthcoming 6th Plenary Session, in a recent statement Deng Xiaoping said: "There is no time, but some problems relating to the issue will probably be touched upon." According to informed sources, problems such as separation of the functions of the party and the government, which is closely linked to reform of the economic structure, will be discussed at the "6th Plenary Session."

#### Hu Yaobang Speaks on Topics for Discussion at the 6th Plenary Session

In discussing topics for discussion at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the Beidaihe conference laid stress on drafting a resolution on the party's principles for guiding the building of spiritual civilization. In a recent statement made in Xining, Qinghai Province, Hu Yaobang disclosed: "The draft resolution has been approved in principle by the CPC Politburo. It is now being circulated among members of party committee standing committees and leading party groups of ministries, commissions and other central state organs as well as of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to solicit opinions." He affirmed that this resolution can compare favorably with the decision on reform of the economic structure adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. The two resolutions "will give far-reaching significance" to the building of both material and spiritual civilizations.

## "Draft Resolution" Has Been Circulated Outside the Party To Seek Opinions

It has been learned that the draft resolution has been circulated among members of democratic parties, public figures, academists and theorists to seek their opinions. It is said that the draft resolution, which has been revised five times, comprises eight parts and contains the following points:

1. To establish a relationship between one person and another characterized by equality, unity and mutual love;
2. To develop a socialist morality;
3. To develop democracy and institute a legal system;
4. To build a healthy, civilized and scientific life among the people;
5. To respect intellectuals.

It is thus seen that in order to improve the standard of social conduct; create a political situation of ease, harmony, and stability; and promote mutual understanding and mutual trust between one person and another, the CPC has drafted the aforementioned resolution in an attempt to launch a campaign similar to the "civilization campaign" in Singapore. In this connection, Hu Qili pointed out recently that democracy, freedom, equality, universal fraternity, humanitarianism and other things should not be discarded and criticized at will. We must not shun these things like plague as if they were the monopolies of capitalist countries.

### The CPC Will No Longer Decide on Members of the "Third Echelon," Says Tian Jiyun

According to authoritative sources, the impending 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee will not make ample adjustment in changes of personnel but will make preparations for the change of the Central Committee of the 13th National CPC Congress, which is scheduled to be held next year. However, after the 6th Plenary Session, there will be changes, and probably great changes, in the personnel of leading bodies. It is worth noting that Tian Jiyun, a member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the State Council, has said: "The central authorities have decided that the CPC will no longer decide on members of the third echelon and send them to grassroots units for training, but will select those who perform in grassroots units." This is a new tendency in the CPC's personnel arrangements.

Since the CPC started making the ranks of its leading cadres "more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent" in 1982, tens of thousands of young and middle-aged cadres have been promoted to leading bodies at or above the county and departmental levels. Most of them were recommended by the departments where they worked or by leaders at higher levels, and they were examined and assessed by personnel departments before they were promoted. Some provinces and cities send their selected cadres to study courses on the "third echelon." After a certain period of training, these cadres work first in grassroots units before they are promoted

to leading posts. Being young and having "good records of former schooling," once these cadres are promoted, they can enjoy security in their leading posts, whether or not they are competent, as long as they do not violate the law and discipline. This will imperceptibly give rise to the formation of a new "system of life-term tenure" for leading cadres.

It is known that members of the "third echelon" are all determined internally. This invites opportunities for some dishonest veteran cadres to "appoint people by favoritism." Newspapers from mainland China have repeatedly disclosed that some officials and local authorities choose relatives and friends and exclude qualified people, assign bad persons to different posts, and form a clique to pursue selfish interests and engage in speculation. However, a large number of the "third echelon" members are not sufficiently competent or experienced and are not well trained in leadership and management. These cadres, who usually rise rapidly in the world, do not enjoy good prestige and cannot be proved equal to the high-level posts assigned to them.

Adopt the "Method of Probation" and Discard the Long-term Remuneration System"

Because of this, the CPC policy-makers have decided to place "third echelon" members at different levels on probation and maintain that those who are unable to exercise leadership and are not professionally competent should be demoted and their remuneration reduced accordingly. This will help break down the "life-term remuneration system."

Secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee Huang Huang Has Been Discharged from His Post and Prosecuted for Accepting Bribes

According to reliable sources, some members or alternate members of the CPC Central Committee, who were just elected by last year's party congress, will be recalled. One of them is Huang Huang, secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee, who has been discharged from his post and prosecuted for taking bribes.

Adopt a Series of New Measures, Which Chen Muhua Describes as "Two Coordinations"

In order to speed up economic reform, the Chinese Government adopted a series of new measures after the Beidaihe conference. The previous "tender rhythm" reform measures such as the introduction of the system of the director or manager assuming full responsibility in some selected large enterprises and encouraging "lateral economic cooperation" among different regions and enterprises have developed into the system of separating the functions of government and enterprises, the system of employing workers by contract, the system of engaging cadres, and the system of leasing and contracting the processing workshops and shops to the collective and individual. In addition to this, a stock market has appeared in China. Approved by Premier Zhao Ziyang of the State Council, 16 cities including Dandong, Weifang, Suzhou, Xiamen, Shaoxing and Luoyang have carried out comprehensive reform of the economic management system in an effort to change the administrative functions and methods of government organs, offer full decisionmaking power to production and management



enterprises, change the previous vertical style of direct leadership, and establish a complete, new administrative system which includes policy-making, policy implementation, economic adjustment, examination and surveillance, and collection of information.

Just as the CPC senior officials say, to set up an economic structure, we must take an active and prudent attitude, conduct careful investigations and studies, heed the opinions of experts and the masses, earnestly sum up historical and current experiences and not act rashly. In recent speeches by Deng Xiaoping and Hu Qili, we can clearly see this new trend.

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CSO: 4005/052

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MINISTER PRAISES NEW ATMOSPHERE FOR ARTISTS

HK190707 Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1354 GMT 18 Sep 86

[Text] Beijing, 18 Sep (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--China's writers and artists are now breathing an atmosphere of democracy, cordiality, harmony and unity to an extent which has rarely been seen since the founding of the People's Republic and are experiencing what is believed to be the best period for them since the founding of New China. They will no longer see the days of always being fearful. This was pointed out here today by Chinese Cultural Minister Wang Meng, who began life as a writer.

At a tea party to greet the Mid-Autumn Festival, which was jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and the CPC Central Committee United Front Work Department for some noted personages in the literary and art circles, Wang Meng said: Today is the Chinese traditional festival of family reunion and the festival for celebrating bumper harvests. China's literary and art circles are now witnessing a picture of prosperity and have also gathered good harvests. Today our cause of literature and art has ushered in the most flourishing period since the founding of New China that I have ever seen in my life. We greatly treasure the political and cultural atmosphere of democracy and harmony and will devote ourselves to enhancing this atmosphere.

The Chinese minister of culture also said: The current reform of our economic and political structure, which was never carried out by our predecessors, will inevitably find expression in our literature and art circles, which may give rise to different views and much controversy on viewpoints, propositions and forms of art. However, what is important is that we must look into these problems through democratic discussion in the spirit of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Only by so doing will our culture and art be able to develop. It is absolutely unnecessary to make people feel very nervous or worry when they discuss academic problems and different views with regard to work and art.

Xi Zhongxun, Zhou Gucheng, Yang Jingren and other leaders attended the get-together to celebrate the Mid-Autumn Festival together with more than 130 outstanding personages from literary and art circles.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MING PAO ON HEARSAY AS IMPORTANT NEWS SOURCE

HK210109 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 20 Sep 86 p 5

["Speical Dispatch from Shanghai": "Problems in Communications Channels; Hearsay Attracts Attention"]

[Text] On the mainland, "hearsay" is drawing more and more public attention and has become an important news source. Some sociologists maintain that "hearsay" can supplement and challenge "official news," which is neither authentic nor exhaustive.

According to Shanghai's SHEHUI BAO [SOCIAL GAZETTE] few people on the mainland nowadays would reject "hearsay." A considerable number of people "would rather believe it than ignore it." However, there are even more people who think that "although hearsay is not completely believable, one cannot afford to completely reject it."

According to SHEHUI BAO, mass media are indispensable to a society and whenever its regular communications channels are not working properly, unofficial channels will always come forward to fill in. "Hearsay" always come forward and develops under such a circumstance.

One of consequences of the 10-year Cultural Revolution is that mainland mass media have fallen into disrepute as "empty but overinflated" units. Because of their long-standing notoriety, the public still has a prejudice against them although 10 years have passed since the end of the Cultural Revolution. Some newspapers have published reports seriously inconsistent with the facts or have even made up news. Whenever the public is skeptical about "official news," it always turns to "hearsay." This is one of the important reasons why "hearsay" is receiving more and more public attention.

Now it is time newspapers and periodicals got rid of their image as "empty but overinflated" units. However, this problem is not just that of making themselves "units that do not lie and are neither empty nor overinflated." The public asks for "extensive and comprehensive coverage and speed." However, it is a pity that all this is precisely what the country's mass media lack. Although the public is generally concerned about major international and domestic affairs, the mass media always remain silent on them or, at the most, publish sketchy reports on them. All this has made conditions very favorable for the circulation of "hearsay."

According to SHEHUI BAO, far from being false news that can be easily disproved, "hearsay" frequently contains true stories. For example, when the case involving Chen Xiaomeng, Hu Xiaoyang, and their gang was still being withheld from the Shanghai public, the "hearsay" introduced from Hong Kong about them gained currency and was eventually confirmed by local newspapers. Similar examples abound.

The appeal of "hearsay" lies in its reliable sources. The press is explicitly ordered not to report certain categories of news. However, such news always seeps through individuals. Second, some information is available to foreign correspondents but not to the community. Thus, there is China's peculiar practice of "re-importing the things that have been exported." Sometimes, because the "official information organs" remain silent on embarrassing issues, "hearsay" can really run rampant, exaggerating and distorting things.

According to some sociologists, the wide circulation of "hearsay" constitutes a serious challenge to the mass media. Thus, the mass media should have the courage to look reality in the face without avoiding actual problems and contradictions. In order to be able to do this, the country must reform its journalism. An important feature of this reform would be to decentralize power, to remove fetters, and to uphold the freedom of press.

Regarding this problem, Teng Teng, deputy head of the CPC Central Committee's Propaganda Department, said at a national forum of chief editors of provincial newspapers: "Regarding the reform of journalism (not the reform of the journalism system), some comrades have raised this question: Should it be a fundamental, moderate, or minor reform? If a fundamental reform means that we should change the nature of party newspapers, and have newspapers founded by 'people sharing similar interests' [tong ren bao -- (0681 0086 1032)] with collectively or individually run newspapers, and disrupt the multi-layer and structurally heterogeneous journalism system currently in force and dominated by party newspapers, our direction is incorrect and the consequences will be undesirable."

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CSO: 4005/052

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CPC LEADERS GIVE SUPPORT TO UNITED FRONT WORK

OW230931 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0709 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Excerpts] Beijing, 21 Sep (XINHUA)--Newsletter: A Warm Southerly Breeze Speeds the Blooming of Thousands of Trees--Notes on the Attention Paid by Leading Comrades of the Party Central Committee to United Front Work in the New Period

By XINHUA reporter Xu Xinhua

We Must Establish a True Relationship of "Treating Each Other with All Sincerity and Sharing Weal or Woe" with Nonparty Friends

It was 5 February 1982 when a national conference on united front work was about to open. On a proposal by Comrade Hu Yaobang, the conference invited eight leading comrades to address it, four of whom were members of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat. Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Why have four members of the Secretariat come here together? It is because a briefing given by this conference said that, when a provincial united front work department held a meeting, not a single party secretary was present, but when the provincial organization department held a meeting, four party secretaries attended. That is why four members of the Secretariat have come here today. The Secretariat has six full-time members, four of whom have come here today and the other two are absent because of illness or other reasons." These remarks evoked warm applause.

In his speech at the conference, Comrade Hu Yaobang stressed: "To do united front work effectively, it is first necessary to solve one question--to fully understand the utmost importance of united front work in the new historical period. The Party Central Committee holds that all party comrades must be clearly and emphatically told that, in the new historical period or in a very long historical period to come, united front work will still be necessary, important, and immensely vital, and remain a magic weapon for our party. Have we not said that we want to accomplish three historic missions--building the motherland, accomplishing the cause of reunification, and internationally opposing hegemonism? It will absolutely not work without the magic weapon of the united front." "We should clearly tell all party comrades and nonparty friends that, in the new historical period, we must establish a true relationship of 'treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal or woe' with nonparty friends."

Last June, Fei Xiaotong, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, returned from a four-nation trip on which he accompanied Comrade Hu Yaobang to Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Italy. When speaking of his feelings about the visit, he said: "Treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe is not merely a picture on a wall, but a reality." He told people that before setting out, he had asked Comrade Hu Yaobang, "During this foreign trip, may I speak on the research results I have achieved in sociology in the past?" and Comrade Hu Yaobang said, "You may say whatever you want without restriction." When talking about this, Fei Xiaotong was full of emotion. He said: "Throughout this visit to foreign countries, I never felt that I was different from the vice premiers and ministers since the very beginning when the members of our delegation were studying together in preparation for the trip. We really spoke out freely about what we wanted to say, and there was no distinction. Perhaps this was one of the reasons for the success of the tour."

#### We Should Give Full Play to the Role of Personages Outside the Party, Who Have Many Strong Points

Our central leading comrades have pointed out repeatedly that personages outside the party are not only numerous in number but also have many strong points. They are rather knowledgeable, maintain relatively wide social contacts, and cherish a strong desire to devote their efforts to our country. We should properly assess their political progressiveness and patriotic zeal.

For the sake of giving full play to the role of those outside the party, Comrade Hu Yaobang asked a series of questions in July 1983 when he was in Xining meeting with responsible persons of democratic parties in Qinghai Province, such as whether the friends outside the party could see or know the documents of the central authorities and the Provincial Party Committee, whether they had work to do, and whether there were opportunities for them to display their role. He said: "The first question is to know what is going on. The second is to devote efforts. I propose that these two questions be solved for our friends outside the party." In July last year when Comrade Deng Yingchao addressed a meeting of the Dalian City CPPCC Committee, she also pointed out: Our CPPCC work should carry forward the fine traditions of political consultation, democratic supervision, cooperation, working together, making many friends, and self-education. It is necessary to exchange information, otherwise, mutual supervision would be impossible. If democracy were not carried forward, there would be no basis for supervision.

Qian Jiaju, member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese Democratic League Central Committee, wrote a letter to central leading comrades in January 1983, proposing that our country give priority to investment in education and put into effect a system of compulsory education. After seeing this letter, Comrade Chen Yun wrote to Comrades Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, saying that "the question raised" by Comrade Qian Jiaju "is of great importance and farsightedness. It is hoped that the departments concerned, such as the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Education, will be instructed to study it and work out a plan for discussion at a special meeting of the Secretariat." Now, a Law on Compulsory Education has been examined and adopted by the Fourth Session of the Sixth NPC and has been put into effect.

## We Should Always Remember Those Who Have Served the Interests of and Made Contributions to the Chinese People

Many people outside the party have this feeling: The CPC always remembers, respects, and learns from those who have served the interests and made contributions to the Chinese people's revolutionary and construction causes. They never forget the inspiring scene of the meeting in celebration of the CPC's 60th founding anniversary. When Comrade Hu Yaobang was speaking at the solemn rostrum, he cherished the deep memory of the outstanding party leaders and revolutionary army leaders. Then, he said immediately: We also cherish the deep memory of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, who fought for a long time together with our party and became a glorious CPC member before she passed away; Mr Cai Yuanpei, who was a pioneer among the intellectuals in contemporary China; Mr Lu Xun, who was a great standard-bearer in the proletarian revolutionary culture of our country; Mr Liao Zhongkai, Ms He Xiangning, Mr Deng Yanda, and Mr Shen Junru, who were our close comrades-in-arms outside the party and who always supported our party; comrades Zou Taofen, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, and Li Siguang and Mr Wen Yiduo, who were outstanding fighters on the science and cultural fronts; and Mr Yang Hucheng, Chen Jiageng, Zhang Zhizhong, and Fu Zuoyi, who were noted patriots and contributed greatly to the victory of the Chinese people's revolution. He asked those present at the meeting to stand up to mourn deeply for these revolutionary martyrs in different periods of our revolutionary history over the past 60 years. At that moment, some of the personages outside the party invited to attend the meeting were moved so deeply that tears came out of their eyes.

On many occasions over the past few years, the enthusiasm about devotion to the country expressed by personages outside the party and their contributions to the four modernizations have been praised by leading comrades at the central level. At a democratic consultation meeting of personages outside the party sponsored by the CPC Central Committee, Comrade Li Xiannian said: Now we are cooperating very well with you on the basis of socialism and patriotism. The China Democratic League, the Jiusan Society, and the China Association for Promoting Democracy have made proposals for improving higher, secondary, and primary education. The China Democratic National Construction Association and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce have made proposals for readjusting the national economy. All these are of great value. The Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang and the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League have made remarkable contributions to promoting the motherland's peaceful reunification. The Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, the China Zhi Gong Dang, and many nonparty public figures have all done a lot of work.

This indicates that all of them are acting as masters of our country and are working with our party and the people throughout the country to push our common cause forward.

Central leading comrades have also paid keen attention to the health of non-party personages, aside from highly evaluating their dedication to work. When Comrade Hu Juewen was hospitalized in February last year, Comrades Hu Yaobang and Hu Qili visited him. They instructed the doctors to provide the best

treatment to facilitate his early recovery. Remembering veteran comrades during the intolerable heat last summer, Comrade Hu Yaobang instructed comrades of the General Office and the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee to visit, on his behalf, 32 nonparty veteran scientists, professors, and democratic party comrades, as well as the families of recently deceased Comrades Hu Feng and Wu Maosun.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PARTY DISCIPLINE SHOULD CHANGE WITH TIMES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 86 p 5

[Article by Yi Yan [1355 6056]: "Party Discipline Is Not Carved in Stone"]

[Text] What is the goal of enforcing party discipline? Is the substance of party discipline unchangeable? In our era of reform, how can party discipline be strengthened? All these issues must be clearly understood.

Discipline guarantees that the party line is adhered to. The aim of enforcing party discipline is to make sure that all party members act consistently and that the party's line, principles, and policies are achieved. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out, "The supreme standard of party discipline is to truly safeguard and firmly implement party and state policies." The discipline of the CPC grew out of a long revolutionary struggle and years of development. Its basic contents and basic demands on party members are not changeable. But as party line, policies, and principles change, some aspects of party discipline, not being carved in stone, should change correspondingly.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has restored the correct Marxist line and decided to shift the focus of party work to socialist modernization centered on economic development. As a code of behavior restraining the actions of every party member in the new era, party discipline inevitably must also shift toward serving the party line of the new era in order to adapt to the demands of modernization. Many regulations formulated under the guidance of erroneous "leftist" ideas in the past no longer apply today. We should modify them based on the requirements of the four modernizations by seeking truth from facts.

In reality, the substance of party discipline has indeed changed in many ways. Numerous things permitted in the past are now regarded as wrong. Leaving aside for the moment the extreme aberrations of the Cultural Revolution, even the couple of years preceding and following the Cultural Revolution were sharply different from today. For instance, the party committee of a factory used to exercise centralized leadership, with its secretary directly issuing orders concerning production over the factory director's head. Now that we have instituted a factory director responsibility system, it will be improper for the party secretary to continue to do so. On the other hand, many activities previously prohibited are now allowed and encouraged. For example,

many localities then forbade party members to sell or buy on the rural market, to fix farm output quotas for each household, and to transport goods over long, even short, distances, for sale. Party members who violated these prohibitions must be punished in accordance with party discipline. Nowadays, aren't these all permitted? If a leading cadre still considers them infractions of party discipline and punishes the perpetrator, he will certainly be regarded as ideologically rigid, as clinging to "leftist" errors and sabotaging current party and government policies, and may end up being considered a violator of party discipline. It can thus be seen that party discipline must change as party line changes.

China at present is in the midst of all-around reform, which is the party's top priority. Nowadays when we talk about enforcing party discipline and staying in line with the CPC Central Committee politically, we mean, first and foremost, being consistent with it on reform matters. The primary goal of the enforcement of party discipline is to ensure that reform proceeds smoothly by creating a favorable social and political environment. It is wrong to consider the enforcement of party discipline and reform mutually exclusive. It is also wrong to separate them. We should concentrate on addressing the question of how to integrate the two closely and ensure a smooth passage for reform by strengthening party discipline. The more we pursue reform, economic vitalization, and the policy of opening China to the outside world, the more we must emphasize the enforcement of party discipline. We must not permit special members to violate party discipline; all culprits must be punished. People who take advantage of the loopholes in reform must be punished severely in accordance with the law. There should not be any doubt about this. On the other hand, we must further liberate our ideas, examine the new conditions, and adapt to them. A serious study is needed to uncover obsolete regulations not in line with present policies and the requirements of reform. They should be revised or replaced by new regulations favorable to the policy of opening China to the world, to reform, and to economic vitalization. Where clear regulations are absent, they should be formulated as soon as possible in the spirit of supporting and ensuring reform. Note that we must not stand aloof from reform or measure the new things which appear in the course of reform with old yardsticks, opposing as errors what is correct and should be nurtured. To do so is detrimental to the healthy course of reform, impedes the implementation of party line, policies, and principles, and hence defeats the purpose of enforcing party discipline.

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CSO: 4005/022

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ADMINISTRATIVE INTERFERENCE IN ECONOMY DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 86 p 2

[Article by Cheng Shan [2052 1472]: "Administrative Interference in the Economy Should be Reduced"]

[Text] Administrative simplification is easy to understand. But what does "less government" mean?

So-called "less government" means reducing administrative interference. In this writer's opinion, reducing drastically administrative interference in economic activities is a major principle which rural economic development must adhere to. It is also an urgent issue which we face as we push reform to a deeper level. We must sound a clarion call for "less government."

The first reason is this. Since the basic objective of economic reform is to transform our past highly centralized planned economy defined by administrative orders into a planned commodity economy, it follows that the development of market mechanisms and the reduction of administrative interference represent the general trend and constitute an inevitable requirement of economic reform. This is true in urban areas as well as in the countryside.

Second, moving one step ahead of others, rural reform has turned peasants into commodity producers with decision-making power and autonomy. Quietly but forcefully market mechanisms have taken up position in every aspect of rural economic life. We can and should rapidly and drastically relax our grip on the administrative control system which used to impose a strangle hold on peasants and put all rural economic organizations in a straitjacket. The countryside should take the lead in having "less government."

Third, following the development of the rural commodity economy, administrative interference in economic activities has diminished. Yet what goes up must come down, and vice versa. In the past 2 years, the momentum for more government--more, not less, administrative interference in economic activities--has reappeared in certain localities. In some cases, interference declined only to become more active again. This newspaper disclosed on 22 September that to protect their respective interests, localities resorted to administrative fiat and arbitrarily intercepted vehicles on the highway,

blocking traffic flow. This is but one example. Another involved a jurisdiction that issued administrative orders through layers of bureaucracy in order to ensure the fulfillment of grain purchasing contracts, even to the extent of laying down rigid rules: Whoever failed to complete his quota would have his contracted field taken away and his children would not be allowed to attend school. The wage payment of cadres would be held up, as would the registration of party members, so on and so forth. The diversity of the gimmicks used is mind-boggling. And yet they are not uncommon. This is an important reason why we call for "less government" loudly and clearly.

For years China was accustomed to steering the economy through administrative decrees. Its management system was centralized and its planning detailed and elaborate. The social economy is a giant entity, changing in myriad ways from top to bottom, from production to marketing, in an instant. It functions like a huge kaleidoscope. How can we manage it if we rely simply on administrative interference with its vertical chain of command from the top down? How can we not end up attending to one thing and losing sight of others, giving wrong orders and stifling the sparkle of creation and development? To develop a commodity economy, we must put an end to excessive administrative interference in the economy. This is a process of destroying the old and establishing the new. Needless to say, there must be a reasonable measure of administrative interference in the course of economic development. Some forms of administrative interference may not be totally reasonable, but the conditions do not yet exist for their immediate elimination. In these cases we must proceed step by step and not be impatient.

If administrative interference is reduced radically, who will command the economy? First, planning. Second, market mechanisms. Even planning must be of the variety closely related to the marketplace. The invisible hand of the law of value will guide and propel the peasants to develop a commodity economy. The problem now is this: Market mechanisms cannot be fashioned overnight. Meanwhile, the welter of economic relations in the marketplace are complex, interwoven and ridden with conflicts. To reconcile these conflicts, we must further reform, develop new methods, and work hard. This suggests that "less government" certainly does not mean "less work."

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CSO: 4005/022

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BAINQEN ON NATIONAL UNITY, RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

HK221328 Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1038 GMT 17 Oct 86

[Report by Na Jiahua [4780 1367 7520] "Bainqen on Upholding National Unity, Regional Autonomy, and Other Issues" -- Zhongguo Xinwen She Headline]

[Text] Kunming, 17 Oct (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--During his inspection tour of three areas inhabited by Zang Nationals, namely Sichuan's Ganzi, Xizang's Changdu, and Yunnan's Diqing, Bainqen Erdini Qoigy Gyaincain, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, pointed out that upholding the unity of the motherland is in the greatest interest of the people of the whole country and in the fundamental interest of Zang nationals.

Vice Chairman Bainqen said: China is a multi-national big family and Xizang has been Chinese territory since time immemorial. One goes against the will of the people and runs counter to the trends of history if one advocates "the independence of Xizang." I was against this in the past, I am against it now and will continue to be against it in the future.

Master [as received] Bainqen said: The policies pursued by the central authorities now are completely correct. The "Nationality Regional Autonomy Law" is an important law that gives impetus to the development of areas inhabited by Zang nationals and other minority groups. Regional autonomy must not be something in name only. It must also be something real. Minority national cadres should earnestly serve the minority groups depending on the actual circumstances.

Speaking on religious matters, the honorary president of the Buddhist Association of China said: Zang nationals are religious believers. Much of the Zang cultural heritage is found in the Lama monasteries. During the "Cultural Revolution," these Lama temples were destroyed, the Zang culture ruined, and feelings hurt. Now, on the one hand, we should continue to earnestly implement the country's religion policy. However, on the other hand, monks should abide by the state's laws and regulations, observe the monastic rules, love both the country and their religion, and diligently study Buddhist scriptures and treatises to acquire profound religious knowledge. The purpose of Buddhism is to deliver, save, and benefit all beings. Thus, all monks and believers should adhere to the Buddha's teachings and try to benefit all beings.

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CSO: 4005/101

7 November 1986

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## ZHANG JINGFU ADDRESSES MEETING ON TAO XINGZHI

OW220445 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0847 GMT 21 Oct 86

[By reporters Shen Lizhu and Zhao Lanying]

[Excerpts] Shanghai, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--The first meeting of the board of Directors of the China Society for the Study of Tao Xingzhi and the first session of the members of the Tao Xingzhi Foundation, held here jointly, ended today. The representatives highly valued the achievements of this people's educator. They pointed out that studying his thought and practice, and inheriting his valuable spiritual asset, will be useful for our country's current work of reforming the education system and building a spiritual civilization.

The joint meeting opened on 18 October in Shanghai. After 4 days of discussions and exchanging opinions, the participants concluded that the main task in studying and learning from Tao Xingzhi is to emulate his dedicated spirit that "I have come with a devoted heart and will leave without taking a single blade of grass." Zhang Jingfu, honorary president of the China Society for the Study of Tao Xingzhi, said that studying, publicizing, and carrying forward the spirit displayed by Tao Xingzhi will certainly have a positive effect on promoting the current work of building a socialist spiritual civilization and bring the Chinese nation to a more prosperous and developed state.

The meeting was attended by nearly 300 people, including Zhu Houze, head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee; Yan Mingfu, head of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee; Rui Xingwen, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee; Jiang Zemin, Mayor of Shanghai; and education workers from various localities. Akio Saito, a Japanese expert in the study of Tao Xingzhi's thinking on education, attended the meeting as a guest and delivered a speech.

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CSO: 4005/101

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

BUDDHIST INSTITUTE'S 30TH ANNIVERSARY--Beijing, Sep 13 (XINHUA)--China's Buddhist Institute marked its 30th anniversary and welcomed students of the class of '86 at a ceremony here today. Since its founding in 1956, there have been nearly 500 graduates, Zhao Puchu, president of the institute, announced at the meeting. Run by the Buddhist Association of China, the institute, located in the Fayuan Temple, has a history of more than 1,300 years. The institute, closed during the "Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976), reopened in 1980, and since then has turned out 80 graduates. Ren Wuzhi, director of the religious bureau under the State Council, encouraged all the students to carry on the fine tradition of the institute and study hard for the development of Buddhism and the country. Representatives from China's Catholic, Islamic and Taoist associations were present at today's meeting. [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0959 GMT 13 Sep 86 OW] /6662

TV PROGRAMS GIVEN AWARDS--Hohhot, Aug 23 (XINHUA)--An awards ceremony for TV dramas and documentaries depicting life of minority nationalities was held here today. Called the "Pegasus" awards, they are the first of their kind in China. The top prizes were given to a TV documentary produced in Xinjiang and a TV drama produced in Nei Monggol. Second and Third prizes were given to products of Ningxia, Tibet, Yunnan, Shanxi and Guizhou. In recent years, more and more TV dramas and documentaries featuring the lives of minority people and the scenery of their areas have been produced. The establishment of the "Pegasus" awards is to promote the creation of TV drama and documentaries in this respect, according to an organizer of the ceremony. Today's ceremony was sponsored by the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the Chinese Television Artists Association and the Department of Minority Nationality Culture under the Ministry of Culture. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1423 GMT 23 Aug 86 OW] /6662

SOCIETY FOR STUDY OF LAO SHE--Beijing, Aug 23 (XINHUA)--A group interested in the writings of Lao She, one of modern China's leading novelists and playwrights, has established a society to study his works. The Lao She Study Society will "promote research into the life and writings of Lao She and also support literature and the arts in Beijing," Yu Shizhi, director of the Beijing people's art theatre, told XINHUA today. Yu has performed in Lao's most famous play, "Teahouse." The society was officially established Friday, the 20th anniversary of Lao She's suicide, a consequence of the start of the 1966-1976 "Cultural Revolution." Born in 1899, Lao She, whose real name is Shen Yanbing,

was praised for his writings about life in Beijing. His other famous works included "Rickshaw Boy" and "The Yellow Storm," also known as "Four Generations Under One Roof." To promote the activities of the society, its organizers have established the Lao She Literature and Art Foundation. Hu Jeqing, Lao She's surviving spouse, said she would support the foundation out of the writer's royalties. [Text] [Beiming XINHUA in English 0630 GMT 23 Aug 86 OW] /6662

PEACE FILM PREMIERE IN BEIJING--Beijing, Sep 19 (XINHUA)--A documentary film, marking the international year of peace, made its premiere at the Nationalities Palace of Culture here this afternoon. Ulanhu, vice president of China, and Zhou Peiyuan, president of the Chinese Association for Peace and Disarmament, attended the premiere of the documentary titled "Under the Same Sunshine." "This premiere was chosen to take place around international peace day designated by the United Nations to fall on the third Tuesday in September. This is not only the most opportune time for the premiere, but it's another important event organized by the Chinese people to show their strong feelings for the ideal of peace during the year," Zhang Wenjin, president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, said at the premiere ceremony. [As received] Shot in the style of integrating realism, lyricism and philosophy, the 40-minute color film documents the bitter suffering of the Chinese people caused by the scourge of war during the past century and more. It also brings to light their aspirations and yearning for peace as well as their long cherished desire to keep peace with the whole world under the sun. [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 19 Sep 86 OW] /6662

FILM ON 1946-49 REVOLUTION--Beijing, October 18 (XINHUA)--China is shooting a two-part film featuring the Third Revolutionary Civil War (1946-49) to mark the 60th founding anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army which falls on August 1, 1987. The film, "Kunlun, the Majestic", will depict the Army's strategic turning point in 1947 from defensive to offensive, centering on Mao Zedong leading the PLA to defeat the attack by the Kuomintang Army on northern Shaanxi Province, where the communist headquarters was located. A host of communist leaders including Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Deng Xiaoping and Liu Bochong, as well as Chiang Kai-Shek and other Kuomintang leaders, will appear in the film which will make its debut in August next year. Though still being shot, the film by the Army's August 1 Film Studio has aroused popular interest, in that it will be the first Chinese film featuring the image of Deng Xiaoping. The role of Deng Xiaoping is played by Qiang Meidi, 42, from the Chengdu Modern Drama Troupe. Lin Biao, who died in a plane crash while attempting to defect to the Soviet Union in 1971, will also be in the film. [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 18 Oct 86 OW]

RED ARMY MONUMENT NAME INSCRIBED--Chengdu, 18 Oct (XINHUA)--A grand ceremony to unveil a monument commemorating the Red Army's victory in taking the Luding Bridge was held today on the bank of Dadu He in Luding County, Sichuan Province. In a congratulatory message on the completion of this monument, Yang Chengwu, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, said that the construction of this monument "fulfilled the wish that marshals Liu Bochong and Nie Rongzhen expressed 51 years ago when they stood on Luding Bridge and said: 'We should set up a monument here to mark the Red Army fighters' immortal deeds.'" Deng Xiaoping and Nie Rongzhen inscribed the name of the monument and wrote the inscription, respectively. [Excerpt] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1429 GMT 18 Oct 86 OW] /12624



EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

#### SCOPE OF POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM DEFINED

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 86 p 4

[Article by Liu Xing [0491 2502]: "My Opinion on the Reform of the Political System"]

[Excerpt] The reform of the political system is of a very broad scope; in my opinion, it should first attend to the following four areas:

First, it is necessary to be resolutely determined to streamline the government organization, retrench the establishment of government personnel, and institute reforms in the administrative structure of the government. On several occasions in past year, the central authorities have raised the issue of reducing the military and retrenching the civil administration. In actual fact, however, not only was there no retrenchment, but, on the contrary, increases occurred in the administrative organization. The organization became inflated, offices were overstaffed, and neither the military nor the civil establishment was reduced, making it extremely difficult to take action against bureaucracy. Not only that, administrative organs in charge of economic and administrative affairs, which originally exercised their control in a centralized manner, were gradually split up into separate departments, doing away with former lateral and vertical relations and not at all attuned to the development of the planned socialist commodity economy. In his "Report on the Seventh 5-Year Plan," Premier Zhao Ziyang clearly pointed out: "To adapt to the demand of the state to change enterprise management from mainly direct to mainly indirect control, the functions of the government organs in controlling the economy will have to change correspondingly," and also: "This change in control functions make it imperative for departments in charge of overall economic management and organs of inspection and supervision to be more adequately staffed, and for departments of specialized economic management to be appropriately merged and streamlined. This is part and parcel of the entire economic structural reform, an essential prerequisite for facilitating and consolidating reform in all other economic fields, as it is also a major transformation in the socialist superstructure." In the process of reforming the economic structure, it is therefore necessary to effect a corresponding reform of the administrative control structure and to establish a truly rational and perfect administrative control structure, befitting scientific policy decisions and modern management.

Second, it is necessary to genuinely delegate to lower levels whatever authority ought to be delegated to lower levels. Both positive and negative experiences over the years have shown that added vitality in the enterprises, enthusiasm, creativity, and initiative in upper and lower levels, are only possible if authority is not overcentralized and if central control is not excessive or too rigid. What is required is rather an appropriately knowledgeable and enlightened distribution of authority. It must not be merely the verbal promise of a delegation of authority which is then later actually refused, or a delegation of powers here and a retracting of authority there, but a delegation of powers to lower levels that is genuine and sincere. It is particularly necessary to fully respect and really guarantee the self-determination in enterprises, allowing them to become relatively independent economic entities, with full authority to operate their businesses, and to become socialist commodity producers or traders, responsible for their own profits and losses.

Third, it is necessary to truly and effectively separate party from government administration, to put a stop to the practice of having the party committee take on all affairs, rather to have government administration fully exercise its functions. If there is no separation of party and government administration, if the party committee takes on all affairs, it is inevitable that the members of the party leadership spend all their time taking part in all kinds of meetings, and become bogged down in routine administrative affairs, a state of affairs which in turn will engender subjectivism and bureaucracy, and have government organs be nothing but mere empty shells. Economic work and all work within the scope of government functions must be organized and accomplished by the governments at all levels. Government cadres must have functions, responsibilities, and authority. The leadership exercised by the party with regard to government must start out mainly as a political leadership and achieve implementation of the party's lines, principles, and policies through the party branches in the government organs. Through their exemplary role, party members working in the government and working united with the nonparty personnel, shall strive in a common effort of hard work to make a success of the socialist modernization.

Fourth, further development of socialist democracy and building up a perfect legal system. Socialist democracy is the precondition and foundation for the socialist legal system; the socialist legal system is the embodiment of socialist democracy and its guarantee. Building up a socialist legal system is the unswerving policy of the CPC. We have made great progress in this respect, but must also realize that in the matter of building up a high degree of democracy, the people's political democracy has not yet been fully realized and democratic rights cannot yet be fully exercised according to the provisions of the constitution. Especially with regard to administering the state and in social life there are still certain limitations. As far as the establishment of the legal system is concerned, there is still very limited supervision and restraint over administrative powers exercised by the legislative and judicial organs. Perfection and solutions in this respect can only be gradually arrived at by reform. Of course, carrying out a reform of the political system is the perfection of the socialist system within and by itself. It is certainly not a revolution in which one class overturns another class. It has to take place under the leadership of the party in a planned, step by step operation and must not be undertaken in a perfunctory manner.

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CSO: 4005/0039

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL URGES DENG XIAOPING TO REMAIN

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 15 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Wei Yin: "Deng Xiaoping, Please Stay On Longer!"]

[Text] Deng Xiaoping proposed the abolition of the system of lifelong tenure in office for cadres, and yet at the advanced age of 82, he has not retired. In idle talk, many people have said: if "His Excellency Deng" insists on retiring, your anxiety will be greater than his. From this, we see that even ordinary people attach great importance to the role of an outstanding leader.

Some Japanese people have said: There are differences between the actual, the physiological, and the psychological age of a person. Some people at the actual age of only 30 or 40 may become senile both physiologically and psychologically, and be older than some in their 50's or 60's or Deng Xiaoping of 82. It is true that some people in their 60's or 70's are still trying to "learn something new everyday"; however, their energy is no longer equal to their wish. Yet, as everyone knows, Deng Xiaoping, as shown by his physical condition and mental power, is full of vitality and stamina, like an evergreen tree. Just look at the way he handled the TV interview with U.S. correspondent Wallace. The record of their conversation is a convincing proof of this point. This correspondent asked very incisive questions which could hardly be answered evasively or perfunctorily with the platitudes usually used by diplomats. However, the exuberant rhetoric and sound logic of "His Excellency's" answers made people gasp in admiration. These answers not only showed an outstanding statesman's firm grasp of the domestic and international issues, but also accurately reflected on his keen power of reasoning. Unlike some old statesmen in history who became easily confused because of their age, he is fully capable of continuing to participate in the task of leading 1 billion people to the designated lofty goal.

Of course, the earth will continue to rotate even after his retirement or death. In the CPC Central Committee, there is now a politically mature leading group that is entirely capable of shouldering the great task entrusted by history. However, it would be a blessing to a billion people if "His Excellency" can stay on longer. He told the U.S. correspondent that he was trying to convince the people to let him retire. However, he added: what he met so far was a chorus of opposition. This is only the truth. In writing this article, I am only adding a few decibels to the chorus of opposition.

9411

CSO: 4005/015

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGZHOU PICKS 'TEN BEST PUBLIC SERVANTS'

OW061651 Beijing XINHUA in English 1431 GMT 6 Sep 86

[Text] Guangzhou, September 6 (XINHUA)--Residents of the city of Guangzhou in South China have rated their public officials and named ten as "best public servants," city authorities said today.

Among those named were Xu Shijie, secretary of the Guangzhou Communist Party, and city mayor Zhu Senlin. Xu was the only city official praised unanimously by an elected 100-member board. Board members called him "democratic" and a "person of action."

Other winners included Xu Shi, former editor-in-chief of the GUANGZHOU EVENING NEWS, who often wrote in favor of fringe benefits for Guangzhou's workers under the pen name "Gentle Voice."

The campaign to rate officials and commend the best began in June when all local residents were encouraged to appraise city officials from neighborhood leaders to the mayor. The appraisals were either in writing or offered at meetings leaders could not attend.

City residents nominated 15 candidates for "best public servant" awards at meetings or by participating in neighborhood public opinion polls. Final selections were made by the 100-member board, whose members were chosen by city organizations.

No criteria were specified for selecting the winners. "The people themselves used whatever criteria they thought appropriate," a city official told XINHUA.

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CSO: 4000/21

7 November 1986

## CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## RESTAGING OF 'MODEL OPERAS' DEFENDED

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 13 Sep 86 p 2

[Article by Zhao Er [0664 5101]: "Let's Talk About 'Once Every 7 or 8 Years'"]

[Text] Because some episodes of the "model operas" were staged during the Spring Festival, some articles took it as an omen of "'leftism' making its comeback," and sounded this warning: Although the "cultural revolution" does not as a rule occur once every 7 or 8 years, the reappearance of 'leftism' is not without some pattern." This was the serious conclusion drawn by these articles which further asserted: "From the melodies of these model operas being broadcast, ...it is not difficult to detect certain yearnings for the days of the 'cultural revolution' and the 'leftist' havoc."

People have such bitterness against and lingering fears of this unprecedented havoc that they are having nightmares of its reappearance. At the very first sign of any social phenomenon even remotely connected with it, sensitive people would sound the warning through the mass media. Some of these articles contained long-range observations into the future along with bitter memories of the past, and are meant to serve as teaching materials from experiences. However, deploring the age alone is not enough. More important still is the need for a scientific approach based on historical materialism. History is not stereotyped, and worldly affairs do not occur by cycles. The staging of some so-called "model operas" should not lead to the conclusion that "leftism" would appear once every 7 or 8 years, nor indicate that the time for their reappearance has arrived. After pointing out that the performers had "yearnings for the days of the 'leftist' havoc" and "fond memories" of the "cultural revolution," one article said: "Because of the important issues involved," people cannot help but feel an oppressive atmosphere once again. These emotional expressions, which may have a bearing on other people's political future, should have been carefully considered before being used.

Reviewing the history of the past half century, we can see that although the party have suffered from "leftist" ideas, the originator of these ideas was rarely the "Qingping." They were rather attributed to some party leader who permitted "leftist" ideas to prevail. That was why the rectification of "leftist" errors usually took the form of solving certain local and temporary problems, and "leftism" was able to make their comeback every now and then, culminating in the disastrous "cultural revolution." With the wisdom and

courage of the vanguard of the working class, our party stood up amid the ruins, surveyed the damage, and conducted the most thoroughgoing liquidation of "leftism" which had gone too far to turn back. It was then the occasion for the party to reexamine itself after a painful experience and to use practice as the criterion of testing truth. The party was finally liberated from its "leftist" fetters. The shift of the focus of party work, the people's plunge into the task of four modernizations, the political stability and unity, and the people's desire to remain in peace now objectively exist. To construe the broadcasting of some songs from the "model operas" as a reappearance of "leftism" can hardly be objective, and to consider the restaging of "model operas" as the whipping up of "leftist" wind with the "double-edge sword" may be likened to the rashness of Li Kui wielding his ax.

Beijing opera fans generally understand that some playwrights, dedicated to the reform of Beijing operas, had intended to produce modern Beijing operas, and that many of these operas were staged before the "cultural revolution." For historical reasons, Beijing operas, like other literary and artistic work, had the weaknesses of being stereotyped and abstract. The misfortune was that they were plagiarized and then blatantly adulterated by Jiang Qing, and the images of the heroes in the operas were gradually played up almost to the point of deification so that they could boost "leftism" and become an asset to her in the attempt to seize political power. In any case, these operas only portrayed the images of workers, peasants and soldiers like Li Yuhe, Yang Zirong and Sister Aqing. Although these images were grossly distorted, the themes of these operas had nothing to do with the persecution of veteran cadres or the seizure of power by the rebels. They were neither the "theme song" nor the "indispensable component" of the cultural revolution; otherwise the work of the party in setting things right and rejecting the "cultural revolution" would have been far simpler, and the criticism of "model operas" would have become an important content of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC."

In using practice as the criterion for testing truth, we should not reject any deed or statement for personality reasons. Of course, the operas plagiarized by Jiang Qing must not be allowed to serve as "models." It is now time for them to recover their origin features. In other words, "stolen properties should return to their owners."

Should these modern operas have any place in the garden of "a hundred flowers"? This question should be best answered by the audience guided by the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and the choice should be made in a tolerant, harmonious and congenial atmosphere. At least, we must uphold the principle of "not seizing on others' faults, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick."

Will "leftism" appear once every 7 or 8 years, as the articles guess? Let us wait and see.

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CSO: 4005/011

NORTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

HEBEI GOVERNMENT REPORTS PERSONNEL CHANGES 15 SEPTEMBER

SK110806 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 86 p 3

[Text] Following is the personnel change name list approved by the Hebei Provincial People's Government on 15 September:

Bai Yonghui [4101 3057 2585] was appointed deputy director of the Provincial Civil Affairs Department.

Li Yonglai [2621 3057 0171] was appointed vice chairman of the Provincial Nationalities Affairs Commission.

Jiang Dzxi [3068 1129 3886] was appointed deputy director of the Provincial Economic Research Center

Huang Zonglin [7806 1350 2651] was appointed deputy director of the Provincial Rural Development Research Center.

Fan Shaozong [5400 4801 1350] was appointed director of the Provincial Land Management Bureau.

Xu Shaobin [1776 4801 2430] was appointed chief engineer of the Provincial Animal Husbandry and Aquatic Product Bureau.

Du Ruizhu [2629 3843 2796] was dismissed from his post of deputy director of the Provincial Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection Department.

Xu Shaobin was dismissed from his post of deputy director of the Provincial Animal Husbandry and Aquatic Product Bureau.

Jia Minyi [6328 3046 6146] was dismissed from his post of president of the Zhangjiakou Medical College.

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CSO: 4005/102

NORTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**PARTY-STYLE IMPROVEMENT FORUM HELD**--The Municipal Party Committee held a forum to discuss the work of improving party style on 22 and 23 September. The forum relayed the spirit of the national symposium of improving party style with the participation of responsible comrades from various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. At the forum the participants from the six units including Hedong District Party Committee delivered report on introducing their experiences gained in improving party style and combating the malpractices cropping up in various industries and trades. Wu Zhen, deputy secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, delivered a speech at the forum. [Excerpt] [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 23 Sep 86 SK]

**IMPROVING PARTY STYLE STRESSED**--Zhang Bangying, member of the Standing Committee of the Provincial Party Committee and secretary of the Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission, pointed out at a conference on discipline inspection work in the provincial organs on 24 September that the party committees at all levels must unify their thinking, enhance their understanding, perceive the long-term and arduous nature of the whole party's efforts to improve party style, and work ceaselessly to grasp the building of good party style. After conveying the spirit of a leading central comrade's speech on straightening out party style, Comrades Zhang Bangying said that, in accordance with this speech, it is essential to build the two civilizations together; we should grasp economic construction and economic structural reform on the one hand, and the building and improvement of party style on the other. [Excerpt] [Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Sep 86 HK]

**MEETING HELD ON FIGHTING CRIME**--The Provincial Party Committee and government held a meeting of commissioners, mayors, political and legal committee secretaries, and public security bureau heads of all prefectures and cities from 3 to 4 September in Taiyuan to sum up the experience of the struggle against robbery and to make arrangements for the work at the next stage. Comrade Zhang Jianmin, vice chairman of the Provincial People's Congress and secretary of the Political and Legal Committee under the Provincial Party Committee, presided over the meeting. Governor Wang Senhao delivered a speech. Since the struggle against robbery began in mid May, Shanxi has achieved remarkable results. The masses have provided more than 16,400 clues to various crimes. The delinquents who have surrendered total over 17,300 and the offenders in custody or sentenced to reform through labor have confessed their crimes and supplied more than 13,900 clues to criminal activities. The province has cracked more than 13,900 criminal cases, including 1,200 major cases;



arrested more than 6,000 criminal offenders and unearthed over 1,200 gangs; and discovered stolen money and goods worth around 10 million yuan. [Report "Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee and Government Hold Meeting To Sternly Attack Serious Criminal Activities"] [Excerpt] [Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 86 p 1 HK]

MEETING ON ECONOMIC CRIME--The Provincial Party Committee held a telephone conference on 17 September to review the achievements in cracking down on economic crime and make arrangements for the next stage of the work. Comrade Wang Jiangong made a speech. He pointed out that despite the achievements scored in this work, it is essential to eliminate slackness and blind optimism and continue to work hard to do the job well. It is particularly necessary to do well in investigating and dealing with major cases that have a big impact. Criminals who turn themselves in and make a clean breast of things before the deadline will be treated leniently. Wang Jiangong called on the units and departments concerned to block loopholes, put rules and regulations on a sound basis, and continually carry out in depth the struggle against economic crime. [Summary] [Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Sep 86 HK]

SECRETARY RECEIVES LECTURERS--On the morning of 19 August at the assembly of the Municipal CPPCC, the Municipal Party Committee and the Municipal Government held a meeting to warmly say goodbye to a Beijing municipal lecturers' group that is about to go to remote and suburban areas to support educational development. Attending the meeting were responsible comrades of the Municipal Party Committee, the Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, the Municipal Government, and the Municipal CPPCC Committee, including Li Ximing, Xu Weicheng, Wang Jialiu, Li Qiyang, Zhang Dazhong, Chen Haosu, Bai Jiefu, and Li Chen; and Liu Bin, vice chairman of the State Educational Commission. On behalf of the Municipal Party Committee and the Municipal Government, Li Ximing, secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, gave warm regards to the first lecturers' group that will go to the countryside to support education. After expounding on the situation in which the rural areas in the municipality are badly in need of talented persons and teachers in order to meet the demands of rapid economic development, Li Ximing pointed out that mobilizing all trades and professions to support education is a task of strategic significance for upgrading the capital's cultural and educational levels and promoting the development of the four modernizations. [Excerpt] [Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 86 p 1 SK]

SHANXI STUDYING, APPLYING LAW--In order to study well and publicize the resolution adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee on the guiding principles for building a socialist spiritual civilization and to perfect socialist democracy and legality in Shanxi, the provincial party committee propaganda department and the provincial judicial department yesterday invited some leading cadres to attend a forum on studying and applying law. At the forum, 15 leading comrades at the prefectural and county levels and at the departmental and bureau levels exchanged their experiences in setting an example and taking the lead in studying law, making decisions according to law, appointing people according to rules and regulations, and administering economic affairs according to law. They also gave a brief account of how they combatted unhealthy tendencies according to law. [Excerpt] [Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 Oct 86 HK] /12624

CSO: 4005/102

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

MINISTRY ISSUES CIRCULAR ON POLICE EQUIPMENT

OW121418 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0712 GMT 10 Oct 86

[Text] Beijing, 10 Oct (XINHUA)--The Ministry of Public Security on 10 October issued a circular strictly banning unauthorized production, sale, or use of police weapons, police cars, police lamps, sirens for police use, and police uniforms.

The full text of the circular follows:

It has been found recently that some organizations and individuals are producing, selling, or using without permission equipment exclusively for the people's police, such as police weapons, cars, lamps, sirens, and uniforms. Some organizations and individuals mark their articles and cars with the "public security" signs. This makes it difficult to distinguish policemen from ordinary people. It has also been found that lawless elements in some localities use the people's police equipment or counterfeit police equipment and pass themselves off as public security personnel to commit crimes and disrupt public order. The people have many complaints about the impostors.

This circular is to help the people accurately identify the people's police, enable the people's police to solemnly keep public order, and prevent lawless persons from using the people's police equipment or counterfeit police equipment to commit crimes:

1. Police weapons, cars, lamps, sirens, and uniforms are to be used exclusively by the people's police, and "public security" signs are to be used exclusively by public security organs, as stipulated by the state. They are not to be used by any unauthorized organizations or individuals.
2. With the exception of organizations authorized by the public security organs, enterprises, institutions, or individuals are strictly prohibited from producing or selling police weapons, police cars, police lamps, police sirens, and police uniforms (including cap, collar and chest insignias, and buttons currently in use by policemen) and their counterfeits (in similar color or pattern).
3. It is strictly prohibited to mark non-police articles and cars with the "public security" signs. Violators must remove the "public security" markings, and are held accountable for their violations.

4. The organizations entrusted to produce police weapons, cars, lamps, sirens, and uniforms should strictly adhere to their production and supply plans. They should not produce more equipment than planned, nor should they sell the products without permission or supply the products to anyone other than police organizations.

5. The people's police equipment and "public security" signs illegally produced, sold, or used in violation of the stipulations of this circular shall be confiscated by public security organs, and the violators shall be sternly dealt with according to the seriousness of the violations.

6. All citizens have the duty to report on any organizations or individuals that violate this circular.

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CSO: 4005/093

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

YANG DEZHI WRITES INSCRIPTION FOR LIBERATION MEMORIAL

SK161328 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Oct 86

[Excerpts] On 15 October, the weather in Jinan was warm, sunny, and pleasant. The recently built Liberation Memorial Pavilion looked magnificent and sublime. At the round-the-city park, there were ripples on the lake surrounded by weeping willows. Leading comrades of the province, Jinan City, and Jinan PLA units, together with more than 10,000 civilians, gathered at the park to celebrate the completion of the Jinan Liberation Memorial Pavilion and the round-the-city park.

At 0900 on 15 October, Zhai Yongbo, deputy secretary of the Jinan City party committee and major of Jinan City, declared the opening of the rally. Immediately after the opening, there was the deafening sound of songs and drums and the popping of firecrackers. Lu Maozeng, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, Li Zhen, chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, and Song Qingwei, deputy political commissar of the Jinan PLA Units, cut the ribbon at the opening of the pavilion and the park. Jiang Chunyun, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee and concurrently secretary of the Jinan City party committee, extended warm congratulations to the people of Jinan and the province on behalf of the provincial party committee, the provincial government, the Jinan City party committee, and the city government.

Also attending the ribbon cutting ceremony were leading comrades of the provincial party committee; the provincial Advisory Commission; the provincial People's Congress; the provincial government; the provincial CPPCC Committee; Jinan City; and the Jinan PLA Units, including Yang Yanyin, He Guoqiang, Gao Changli, Xu Leijian, Xu Jianchun, Lin Ping, Lu Hong, Tan Qinglian, Zhou Xingfu, Xu Meisheng, Zhang Weicen, Xu Wenyuan, Ding Fangming, Jin Baozhen, Yang Da, Xu Chunyang, and Zhang Zhenxian. Veteran comrades staying in Jinan also attended the ceremony.

To celebrate the completion of the Jinan Liberation Memorial Pavilion and the round-the-city park, Yang Dezhi, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and chief-of-general staff of PLA General Staff Headquarters, wrote an inscription which reads "Building the Pavilion To Commemorate the Liberators, and Joining Hands To Build a New Jinan."

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CSO: 4005/093

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

HEBEI HOLDS MEETING ON BUILDING MILITIA TRAINING BASES

SK230832 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 86 p 1

[Text] At a meeting to exchange experiences in the construction of militia training bases of the Beijing Military Region held in Tangshan on the morning of 5 September, Li Min, deputy chief of staff of the headquarters of the Beijing Military Region, pointed out that the construction of the Tangshan Military Training Base lies in the front rank of the whole military region.

In the past 2 years, to make the training of militia and reserve forces regular and specialized, Tangshan City has reconstructed militia training bases. It has built six specialized services training bases, including bases for the artillery force, armored force, chemical defense force, signal force, and air force ground support, which are equipped with all kinds of audio-visual and automatic teaching and training equipment. Tangshan City has conducted crop farming, breeding, processing and service production and operation activities, trained a great number of persons competent for both labor and military work, gradually attained the goal of comprehensively utilizing the bases for training, educating, and making the militia prosperous, and instilled vitality into the militia and reserve forces during the new period. The Beijing Military Region held this meeting to popularize Tangshan's experiences in building militia training bases.

Yue Qifeng, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, attended and addressed the meeting. Chen Peimin, deputy political commissar of the Beijing Military Region; Tan Dongsheng, deputy director of the Mobilization Department of the General Staff Department; Dong Xuelin, commander of the provincial military district, and Zhang Zhao, political commissar, attended the meeting.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

JILIN PROVINCIAL CONSCRIPTION WORK CONFERENCE CONCLUDES

SK130316 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 0930 GMT 12 Sep 86

[Excerpts] The 3-day provincial conscription work conference ended today. The conference relayed the guidelines of the all-army conscription work conference, summed up and reviewed the province's conscription work achievements in recent years, made arrangements for this year's conscription tasks, and commended the units advanced in conscription work.

Gao Di, secretary of the provincial party committee, Liu Yunzhao, member of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee and vice governor, and Liu Shulin, vice governor, attended and addressed the conference.

Vice Governor Gao Wen gave a report entitled "Clearly understand the situation, be brave in reform, and do a better job in conscription work."

Chen Xingyin, member of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee and commander of the provincial military district, addressed the opening.

The conference stressed: Checking malpractices in conscription work is the key to guaranteeing the quality of the sources of troops. Party committees at all levels should strengthen political and ideological leadership over conscription work, begin the work with party committees, leading cadres, and the enlistment organs, and see to it that no unqualified people will be enlisted.

The conference commended 25 units advanced in conscription work in various cities, prefectures, autonomous prefectures and counties.

Yu Zonghuan, political commissar of the provincial military district, and (Li Yinliang), director of the Mobilization Department of the provincial military district, also spoke at the conference.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

QINGHAI PLA LAUNCHES 'GAINS AND LOSSES' DISCUSSION

HK180231 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 17 Sep 86

[Excerpts] Since August, the Qinghai Military District and its subordinate units have launched a major discussion on gains and losses in accordance with the instructions of the PLA General Political Department. During this discussion the commanders and fighters have probed the major issue of how to step up ideological building in the new situation of opening up and invigorating.

(Shao Deshan), political commissar of Golog Military Subdistrict, who has been on the Golog grasslands for 26 years, has been married for 20 years but has never been able to attend family gatherings. Last January, he received a cable from his wife saying that his son was critically ill. By the time (Shao Deshan) reached home, the son had died.

During the discussion on gains and losses, some people said: You really have lost too much, Commissar (Shao). It is now time for you to go home and live with your family. (Shao Deshan) said: It is true that I have lost a great deal, from a personal point of view. I love my home village and my wife and children, but I love the Golog grasslands still more. Having been trained to be a leading cadre, I have gained quite a lot. I want to strive all my life for the party and the people's army on the Golog grassland.

(Dong Tianshe), company commander in a certain unit, is a military academy graduate, tall and good-looking. However, just because he is a soldier on the plateau, three girls he wanted to marry all refused him. During the discussion on gains and losses, he said: Military men have to make sacrifices. Since I have chosen a military life, I should not weigh personal gains and losses.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

XIZANG HOLDS ARMY RECRUITMENT CONFERENCE

HK271529 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 25 Aug 86

[Text] A regional army recruitment work conference was held at the No 1 Guest-house of the Xizang Military District on the morning of 25 August.

Regional government Vice Chairman Qamco and responsible comrades from the relevant regional departments, the relevant departments of the Xizang Military District, all city and prefectural civil administration departments, and all military subdistricts attended the conference.

At the conference, Zhang Fengjiao, deputy chief of the regional army recruitment leading group and deputy commander of the Xizang Military District, reviewed the region's army recruitment work last year and arranged tasks for this year's recruitment. (Mao Haiqing), deputy chief of general staff of the Xizang Military District, conveyed the spirit of the PLA conference on the recruitment of troops.

The conference pointed out that properly carrying out work concerning sources of troops and ensuring the quality of sources of troops is of great importance to strengthening combat effectiveness of our army and promoting the modernization of our army. Leading departments at all levels must properly carry out propaganda work concerning army recruitment, seriously implement policies on army recruitment, ensure the quality of candidates by conducting political examinations, medical checkups, and cultural examinations, uphold principles, and strictly prohibit malpractices. This is the first time in the region that local and army comrades jointly studied and formulated methods and measures for army recruitment work, which is also an important reform in army recruitment of the whole PLA.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

XIZANG EDUCATES DEMOBILIZED ARMY CADRES

HK250105 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 23 Sep 86

[Text] The headquarters of the Xizang Military District has made demands on army cadres who will be transferred to civilian work and requested them to show understanding and concern for the difficulties of the country, to comply with the overall situation, to give no consideration to their personal gains or losses, and to accept new jobs assigned by local authorities.

From 19 to 21 September the headquarters of the Xizang Military District ran a study class for army cadres being transferred to civilian work and held serious discussions on gains and losses. Consequently, the cadres have straightened out their ideas and upgraded their understanding.

(Liu Shiguo), deputy chief of staff of the military district, urged the transferred army cadres to share the burdens and cares of the country, to take the interests of the whole into account, to view gains or losses with the approach of a communist party member, and to accept jobs assigned by local authorities.

In view of the problem of some cadres instructing their friends to find good jobs and units for them, (Zheng Yingzhi), director of a PLA guesthouse who has worked in Xizang for 23 years, and (Zhang Zhongquan), an army cadre to be transferred to civilian work, said: Local authorities will assign jobs to us. If we get a good job with the help of friends or through connections, we will feel ill at ease.

(Xu Linggao), chief of staff of the military district, encouraged the transferred cadres to carry forward the fine tradition of the PLA, to learn from local comrades modestly, and to become talented people useful to the modernization drive as quickly as possible.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

XIZANG DEMOBILIZATION MEETINGS, LEGAL EDUCATION

Xizang Leader Attends Meetings

HK080321 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 3 Oct 86

[Excerpts] From 3 September to the afternoon of 2 October, (Liu Shiguo), deputy chief of staff of the Xizang Military District, and others drove to the 86th and 55th detachments of a PLA unit and the garrison company of the Xizang Military District No 2 guesthouse, where they held meetings of demobilized soldiers. They urged the demobilized soldiers to play an exemplary role in the building of spiritual civilization and to make contributions to the building of the two civilizations together with the people in their hometowns.

(Liu Shiguo) enquired in detail about the families and lives of the demobilized soldiers, solicited their opinions on their previous PLA units and leaders, and answered the requests put forth by the demobilized soldiers according to the stipulations of the relevant policies. He immediately solved some problems which could be solved within the limit of the policies.

At the meeting, (Liu Shiguo) demanded that the demobilized soldiers carry forward the fine tradition of our army; treasure the honor of an armymen; give play to their wisdom and ability; earnestly study cultural and scientific knowledge; stress moral integrity and courtesy, observe discipline, love people, the motherland, and labor wherever they go; and make contributions to the building of spiritual civilization in their localities.

Legal Education for Demobilized

HK080703 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 3 Oct 86

[Text] Before demobilized soldiers leave, the headquarters of Xizang Military District conducts education among them in legal knowledge. By such methods as attending lectures and holding discussions, they study the constitution, the criminal law, marriage law, the regulations and rules on punishment in the public security field, and the rules on punishment of armymen who violate the law, achieving good results.

In order to make the education in legal knowledge a success, the propaganda and education departments of the headquarters of the Xizang military district have worked out detailed plans. The leaders of all departments and sections have gone deep into all detachments, platoons, and squads to learn about the soldiers' study. Through study, the demobilized soldiers said that wherever they go, they will be citizens who observe discipline and abide by the law.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

RETIRED PLA MEN LEAVE XIZANG, SET GOOD EXAMPLE

HK060935 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 5 Oct 86

[Excerpts] Xizang military district has scored successes in building spiritual civilization. Basically speaking, 4,000 retired PLA fighters did not commit any acts violating discipline and regulations while leaving Xizang. Therefore, they were highly praised by military camps, guesthouse workers, and the people they met.

Over the years, the military district upheld right from the beginning the work of simultaneously building material and spiritual civilizations.

Right at the beginning of this year's work of educating the aged servicemen on retirement, all units of the military district strived to do well in becoming demobilized and returning home in a civilized way.

Between 24 September and 2 October, the retired PLA fighters who returned to their hometowns via Lhasa and other military camps did good things for the local people, whether they were in camps or guesthouses. They even helped the camps and guesthouses wash dishes, clean tables, and sweep the floor. They gradually developed a tendency so that some veteran workers expressed that the old tradition and good work style had returned.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

CHANGES IN YUNNAN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES

HK061406 Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 86 p 2

["Work Research" column by Li Yuanming [2621 3220 2494] of the Yunnan Provincial Office of Science, Technology, and Industry for National Defense: "Strive for the Realization of a Strategic Shift in Yunnan's National Defense Science and Technology Industries"]

[Text] National defense science and technology industries should serve the four modernizations program. In order to suit the needs of this strategic shift, the structure of the national defense science and technology industries must be completely reformed. In line with state unified planning and the idea of integrating military with civilian production, we should plan and readjust military enterprises simultaneously with the reform of the economic structure as a whole, thus creating conditions for genuinely turning these enterprises into relatively independent commodity producers and dealers.

Compared with other fraternal provinces and municipalities, Yunnan's national defense science and technology industries cannot be regarded as large-scale or of high technological level. However, they have their strong points or special features. They are an important force in Yunnan's economic construction. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Yunnan's national defense science and technology industries have rapidly developed civilian production. They are now capable of mass producing such civilian products as cars, bicycles, household electrical appliances, computers, medical appliances, optical instruments, explosives for civilian use, and industrial and agricultural machinery and equipment. In 1985 they produced 124 kinds of civilian products at a value of 398.1 million yuan, deriving 60.18 million yuan in profits and turning over to the state 17.2 million yuan in taxes. Nevertheless, the strong points and potential of Yunnan's national defense science and technology industries are still far from being brought into full play. Judging from their technological potential, the roles of the optical, electronic, rocket, machinery, and other specialities have not been fully exploited; judging from their personnel potential, one research institute alone has 397 senior engineers and engineers and 186 assistant engineers, most of whom do not have enough scope to exercise their abilities; and judging from their production potential, Yunnan's national defense science and technology industries would not have any difficulties in doubling the total output value so long as they can fully utilize the existing personnel and equipment. The principal cause

for our failure to fully exploit the technological, equipment, and personnel potentials, which are urgently needed in Yunnan's economic construction, is that the structure has not been changed. Consequently, the military enterprises do not have overall planning for both projects and raw materials; they have neither sources for the necessary capital nor channels for the sales of their products. To solve these problems, a fundamental way out lies in the structural reform.

How should Yunnan's national defense science and technology industries handle the relationship between readjustment, transformation, and structural reform? There are three different views on this issue: 1) First carry out readjustment and transformation and then conduct structural reform on the basis of readjustment and transformation; 2) First carry out structural reform and then carry out readjustment and transformation on the basis of structural reform; and 3) Carry out structural reform simultaneously with readjustment and transformation. The comrades holding the first view maintain that only when enterprises are readjusted and transformed can they have vigor and vitality and only when the enterprises have vigor and vitality can the structural reform be successfully conducted. However, if the military enterprises maintain their original structure, they will not be able to exploit the potentials of their personnel, technology, and equipment and to raise the necessary capital for readjustment and transformation. Therefore, it will be impossible to achieve the idea of carrying out structural reform on the basis of readjustment and transformation. Can we first carry out structural reform and then conduct readjustment and transformation on the basis of structural reform? For example, we can immediately put military enterprises under the administration of key cities and let the key cities conduct readjustment and transformation. This is a most convenient method for the national defense science, technology, and industry office. However, since most of the military enterprises are far from the key cities, how can the key cities manage them? Therefore, the second view is also unworkable. Consequently, it is more appropriate to simultaneously reform the national defense science and technology industry and the city management structures, to readjust and transform the military enterprises, and to develop lateral association.

The key to speeding up the reform of the structure of Yunnan's national defense science and technology industry also lies in the vigorous development of civilian products, particularly the products that can play a major role in raising the technological level of the state, such as civilian products which are directly produced with the use of military technology, knowledge- and technology-intensive civilian products developed with the use of military technology, and products in short supply which are needed in national and local economic construction. The military industry should take an active part in the technological transformation of traditional industries, give scope to its superiority in personnel, technology, and equipment, and do a good job of assimilating, absorbing, and improving imported technology. It should also adapt itself to the needs of the international market and produce superior products. In order to invigorate the military enterprises and develop the productive forces, in addition to considerably developing civilian products, it is also necessary to break the blockade, open the door wide, and develop

lateral economic ties with civilian enterprises and institutions voluntarily and independently. It should be willing to play the role of a principal or supporting character as needed. If we succeed in opening up a new situation in developing civilian products and lateral economic links, we shall be able to quicken the pace of structural reform and achieve, at an early time, a strategic shift in Yunnan's national defense science and technology industries.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

GUANGXI CIVIL DEFENSE MEETING--The regional meeting of advanced collectives and individuals of civil defense departments opened this morning in Nanning. The region's civil air defense achievements since the 1982 meeting of advanced representatives were summed up at the meeting. During this period, the region switched its work of civil defense from stressing the simple practice of digging deep air-raid shelters to that of comprehensive preparedness of civil defense. The region also made achievements in organizing work concerning command, communications and intelligence, education on civil, defense, organizing and training air defense personnel, and so on. The region's experience in strengthening the integration of peacetime work with war preparation and in improving the strategic results, social benefits, and economic results of civil defense projects were summed up at the meeting. The region's 40 advanced collectives and 51 advanced individuals in civil defense work were commended at the meeting. [Text] [Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Sep 86 HK] /7358

KUNMING CENTRAL LECTURE GROUP--On the afternoon of 23 August, the provincial party committee and people's government held a gathering in People's Victory Hall in Kunming to welcome the central lecture group and to send off the provincial lecture group to various parts of the province. The 1,300 members of the central and provincial groups were present at the gathering. Also present were responsible comrades of the party, government, and army in Yunnan including Pu Chaozhu, Zhu Zhihui, Li Xinwang, Li Guiying, Liang Jia, and (Li Jie). Zhu Zhihui, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, made a speech. He said: The lecture groups being sent down to the localities have two tasks: To support education and to undergo tempering. The comrades will certainly encounter many difficulties. This requires that you set strict demands on yourselves, and you should also do well in study, respect the local teachers and comrades, and humbly learn from them and from the objectives of your education. [Excerpts] [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 23 Aug 86 HK] /7358

IMPROVED PARTY WORK STYLE--The Beijing MR has scored noticeable success in improving party work style. With the start of work on improving party work style in 1985, the party committee of the Beijing MR promptly checked on and corrected major malpractices like the building of houses by leading comrades in violation of stipulated standards and unauthorized recruitment of local



athletes. The party committee also investigated and handled a number of discipline violation cases. By now, lavish dining and wining, intercession, sending gifts, illicit possession of public property, under-the-counter relationships, fraud, and other malpractices have largely been squelched. Since the beginning of 1986, expenses devoted to reception purposes have dropped 80 percent over a period one year earlier. Most leaders have refrained from seeking personal gains, accepting gifts, and practicing intercession in the work of transferring cadres to civilian jobs, fighters to volunteer and technical jobs, and of developing party members and recruiting students. The rank and file cadres and fighters have expressed satisfaction with their work. The military region has so far issued circulars to commend 45 party committees at or above the regimental level, as well as 48 divisional and regimental cadres. [Text] [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Aug 86 OW] /7358

JILIN COMMANDER INSPECTS YANBIAN--Affected by Typhoon No 15, Yanbian has been hit by serious floods this year. On behalf of the provincial party committee and government, Comrades Chen Xingyin, commander of the provincial military district, Wang Jinshan, provincial vice governor, and Hui Liangyu, director of the rural work department of the provincial party committee, inspected the disaster situation in Yanbian by special plane on the morning of 31 August, and expressed sympathy and solicitude for the victims. From 28 to 30 August, the Yanbian Chaoxian Autonomous Prefecture was hit by rainstorms and cloudbursts successively. Rather serious flooding occurred in (Hailan) Jiang, Gaya He, (Buerhasi) He and Tumen Jiang, and river dikes were breached in many sections. In particular, (Jingjie), (Sanjiazi) and (Banshi) Townships of Hunchun County were seriously plagued by floods. Many villages and large areas of farmland were inundated, and some 40,000 people throughout the prefecture were transferred to hilly areas. On that afternoon, Comrades Chen Xingyin, Wang Jinshan and Hui Liangyu inspected the flood situations in Yanji, Longjing, Tumen and Hunchun cities and counties by plane. [Excerpt] [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2100 GMT 1 Sep 86 SK] /7358

SHENYANG COMMANDER ADDRESSES MEETING--At the invitation of the leaders of the Shenyang Military Region, a report group of heroes and models from the Heilongjiang Provincial Land Reclamation General Bureau gave a wonderful report to more than 1,000 commanders and fighters at the Bayi Theater in Shenyang on the morning of 18 September. Leading comrades of the military region and organs, including Liu Jingsong, Liu Zhenhua, and Song Keda, attended the report meeting. Liu Jingsong, commander of the Shenyang Military Region, gave an important speech at the end of the report meeting. He said: The spirit of the people in the northern wilderness, of which the broad masses of fighters on the reclaimed wasteland are proud, is not only their precious heritage but also the common spirit of the entire army which will lead us to march forward forever. [Excerpt] [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 20 Sep 86 SK] /7358

SHANGHAI WINTER CONSCRIPTION--Winter conscription started in Shanghai today. At a conscription meeting yesterday, Mayor Jiang Zemin called on eligible youth in the municipality to register. [Text] [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 20 Sep 86 OW] /7358

NEW MINESWEEPER LAUNCHED--The Chinese Navy's first new-type minesweeper, designed by China's scientists and technicians and successfully built by the Jiangxin Shipyard of the China State Shipbuilding Corporation, was launched in triumph in the Chang Jiang this morning. [Text] [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Oct 86 OW] /7358

7 November 1986

LHASA ARMY RECRUITMENT--Recruitment of new soldiers is now being actively carried out in Lhasa. This year's recruitment has the following characteristics:

- 1) Most applicants are supported by their parents. About 80 percent of the applicants went to the recruitment offices accompanied by their parents.
  - 2) The average cultural level of the applicants is higher than that in previous years. Most applicants are this year's senior middle school graduates.
  - 3) The proportion of female applicants has increased to 42 percent of the total. By 6 October, some 350 youths had applied to join the army, of whom 147 were young women. The figure is much larger than expected. [Summary]
- [Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 7 Oct 86 HK] /7358

CSO: 4005/093

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

U.S. SEEN AS OBSTACLE TO PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION

OW020007 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin 1215 GMT 29 Sep 86

[Excerpts] On the eve of National Day 5 years ago, Comrade Ye Jianying put forward, on behalf of the Chinese Government, the well-known nine-point proposal on Taiwan's return to the embrace of the motherland, and on the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

However, the Kuomintang authorities turned down our proposal the very next day, without even carefully studying it. Five years have passed since that time. During these 5 years, the leaders in our country have repeatedly made proposals to the Kuomintang to find a way to help Taiwan peacefully return to the embrace of the motherland. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: We seek to solve the issue of Taiwan through peaceful means. We should ensure that Taiwan's existing system does not change for 50 years. What more does Taiwan want? However, the Kuomintang authorities had repeatedly adhered to their ridiculous Three Principles.

Why do the Kuomintang authorities stubbornly cling to such an unwise attitude? The reason is: The United States is still giving vigorous political support and generous military aid to Taiwan. This is truculent interference in China's internal affairs. The United States has stubbornly advocated the "two China's" policy, and sought to split our country over a protracted period and turn Taiwan into its "unsinkable aircraft carrier."

The United States still actively gives political support and general military aid to the Kuomintang. The Chinese people will not tolerate such a situation forever. Not long ago, Comrade Hu Yaobang made a statement. He said: China does not currently intend to liberate Taiwan by force. However, if our long-term efforts to bring Taiwan back to the embrace of the motherland fail to yield any result, China will re-examine its stand on this issue. Comrade Hu's clear-cut and justifiable statement reflects the will of all the people in the country that we must achieve the goal of reunifying China and bringing Taiwan back to the embrace of the motherland.

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CSO: 4005/061

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS IMPROVE, BENEFITS INCREASE

OW241412 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 20 Sep 86

[Text] Reports submitted to the General Political Department indicate that commanders and fighters of PLA units have in recent months shown great interest in questions regarding Sino-Soviet relations. One of the reasons for this is that Sino-Soviet relations have really taken a favorable turn. The volume of trade between the two countries has increased; the two countries have sent students to study in each other's schools and held exhibitions in each other's cities; there has been an exchange of visits by literary and sports groups from the two countries; a Beijing delegation has visited Moscow; and so on and so forth.

Newspapers recently carried a speech by Soviet leader Gorbachev on establishing good-neighbor relations between the two countries.

On the other hand, however, the gang of four made a mess of our foreign relations during the cultural revolution. In all the preparations made for war, the Army always regarded the Soviet Union as its imaginary enemy. This brought psychological pressure to bear on PLA commanders and fighters.

With the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations, more and more people have begun to realize that the abnormal relations between the two countries in the past were purely man-made and resulted from subjective factors.

In fact, PLA commanders and fighters are not the only ones who concern themselves with the development of Sino-Soviet relations. People in agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, industry, and commerce are also very much concerned about Sino-Soviet relations, especially the trade relations between the two countries.

Although the volume of trade between China and the Soviet Union is not large, the trade has brought tremendous benefits to the economies of both countries. By exporting their products to the Soviet Union, some enterprises in our country's northeastern and northwestern provinces have invigorated their production and considerably increased their profits. After being re-equipped, enterprises which were built with Soviet aid will regain their original productivity. When the railway linking Xinjiang to the Soviet Union's Kazakhstan is completed and opens to traffic, it will certainly create favorable conditions for the trade

relations between our northwestern provinces and the Soviet Union. It will also shorten the railway distance between our country and Europe.

In short, all such indications have given people new hopes for the development of Sino-Soviet relations.

In his recent speech in Tianjin, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed the need to adhere to the policy of opening to the outside world and to invigorate the economy. In the future, if we can walk on two legs in this respect--if we open the country to the capitalist West and Japan as well as socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union which has the longest borderline with our country, it will certainly bring ever bigger economic and other benefits to our country. At the same time, our country will also be able to avoid the losses caused by leaning to one side in foreign trade in the past few years. For example, our country's adverse balance of trade with big capitalist countries has increased year after year, and the United States has tried to seize our country by the scruff of the neck by imposing restrictions on textile imports. With tremendous economic strength, Japan has dumped products in our country.

In a word, further improvement in Sino-Soviet relations accords with the interests of the two countries and their people.

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CSO: 4005/061

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

NORMALIZE CPC-CPSU TIES BEFORE SOLVING PROBLEMS

OW290317 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 25 Sep 86

[Text] It can be said that this fall marks the beginning of the obvious improvement in relations between our party and other communist parties of the East European countries: at the end of September, Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, will visit China; later in October, Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, will visit China at the invitation of our party Central Committee; Bulgaria's Communist Party leader will also visit China later on. It is absolutely correct that our party currently pays such great attention to resuming relations with communist parties of the world, particularly those of the socialist countries.

As we all know, our party severed relations with most of the world's communist parties during the Cultural Revolution and the gang of four period. We even had a bloody border conflict then with the Soviet Union. After the downfall of the gang of four, under the principle of letting bygones be bygones, our party ultimately restored its normal relations with communist parties of the capitalist countries; now its political relations with communist parties of the East European socialist countries have also become normal. Only the normalization of its relations with the CPSU seems to be impossible within the foreseeable future. However, one thing to our satisfaction is that an agreement on Sino-Soviet trade, economic, cultural, and scientific and technological development was reached during the visit to China of the Soviet Government delegation led by Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. As was said by Comrade Zhao Ziyang when he met the Soviet guests in Zhongnanhai, developing trade, economic and technological cooperation between the two countries conforms to the mutual benefit of China and the Soviet Union.

It would be advantageous for the world and the people of China and the Soviet Union if these two big powers could maintain a good-neighbor relationship. Unfortunately, because of the obstacles in the relations of the two countries, no substantial progress has been made in their political relations. In this regard, we should note the statement made not long before the Soviet delegation's visit to China by the Soviet leader Gorbachev in Vladivostok. In the

statement, Gorbachev indicated that the Soviet Union would withdraw its troops from the Sino-Soviet border and from Mongolia, and gradually from Afghanistan as well. This statement not only created a good atmosphere for the Soviet delegation's visit to China, but also proved the Soviet Union's intention of eliminating the two great obstacles to further normalizing relations between the two countries. To withdraw a great number of Soviet troops from the Sino-Soviet border and from Mongolia is particularly important, for this has been the greatest obstacle to the improvement of the political relations of the two countries and of the two parties.

However, the prospect of normalizing Sino-Soviet relations became dim when the issue of withdrawing Vietnamese troops from Cambodia was suddenly made the precondition for improving Sino-Soviet political relations. This is because: First, since the Vietnamese Government has on many occasions indicated its desire to settle the dispute with us through negotiation, it is impossible for anyone else to try to settle this issue. Second, Vietnam has been fighting a war for more than 40 years and considers itself strong and independent militarily. Therefore, it would not lay down its arms even if the Soviet Union were to annul its friendly cooperation treaty with Vietnam. Third, to make the issue of a third or even a fourth country a precondition for normalizing Sino-Soviet relations clearly demonstrates great-nation chauvinism and is not very practical as well.

Regarding this matter, suggestions made by some comrades of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs deserve some consideration. They think that in order to make substantial progress in Sino-Soviet relations, models of Sino-U.S. and Sino-British relations should be followed; that is, to normalize the relations first then to solve any pending questions step by step. Questions of U.S. troop withdrawal from Taiwan and of Britain's returning Hong Kong to China were not solved until the normalization of relations. These comrades' suggestions undoubtedly deserve some consideration.

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CSO: 4005/059

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

JAPAN SAID PLANNING NUCLEAR WEAPONRY

OW141315 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 9 Oct 86

[Excerpts] Lately there have been increasing reports that Japan is preparing to make nuclear arms. One recent report says that, in order to make nuclear bombs, Japan's Defense Agency's first science research center in Tokyo has done research on plutonium and other radioactive materials for 14 years under the disguise of simulating the aftermath of nuclear wars. Other military and civilian institutions have also conducted similar research.

It is particularly worth pointing out that since Nakasone came to power, his government has put a lot of efforts into making nuclear arms. This is not surprising since Nakasone is known as an ardent advocate of a nuclear-armed Japan. Several years ago China already exposed the dangerous schemes of this greenhorn chieftain of Japanese militarists.

In fact, Japan's ruling clique has long intended to arm Japan with nuclear arms. In the past 16 years Japan has accomplished a great deal in developing nuclear energy and stockpiled huge quantities of enriched uranium and other radioactive materials.

Japan is actually preparing to make atomic weapons on its own. It is noteworthy that Japan's military industry departments have started manufacturing portable nuclear warheads. Not long ago it was reported that Japanese military specialists tested at a U.S. testing site self-made new guided missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. This kind of missiles will be used to equip Japanese air force's new fighter-bombers and the nuclear submarines to be purchased from the United States.

All these facts show that Japanese militarists can arm their ground, air, and naval forces with nuclear arms in a relatively short time. This is definitely very alarming. Recently Japan's ruling clique claimed that for the purpose of self-defense Japan is entitled to have small-size nuclear weapons.

Numerous facts indicate that Nakasone and other like-minded Japanese militaristic chieftains are completely capable of carrying out Japan's vicious scheme of arming itself with nuclear arms. They would pose a great threat to the whole world once Japanese militarists are armed to the teeth with nuclear weaponry. One must not ignore this real danger.

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BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

FAILED PARTY RECTIFICATION EFFORTS HIGHLIGHTED

OW290609 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 27 Aug 86

[Excerpts] Party rectification work has been going on for 3 years and little has been achieved. Cases of malpractice committed by party members and various departments have even increased. Many party members and cadres have become prisoners of feudalism and corrosive capitalist thought. These party members and cadres, high officials included, are either engaged in factionalism, extra-organizational activities, or power abuse and neglect their duties.

Some people say these phenomena do exist, but they are merely isolated in nature. This is far from true. There are 42 million party members and 2 million grass-roots party branches in the country. How many of them are qualified? Recently Beijing Municipality conducted a spot check of 1,949 party members in 138 grass-roots party branches. Only 36 percent of the party members checked were found to be qualified or did not make major mistakes in recent years. The malpractices just mentioned, therefore, are not isolated cases.

Still others say that meagre results in party rectification are caused by party members not acquiring adequate immunity strength against malpractices.

However, the mere emphasis on party members' immunity strength is unobjective. Practice has shown that the only root cure for the fashionable disease of mammonism is thorough prevention. How can party rectification be achieved if the corrosive stuff of capitalism is shown through the window during party rectification? And how can a patient be nursed back to health if the virus is spread about during treatment? Therefore, it is a safe bet to say that the present erroneous policy is the root cause of the party rectification work.

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BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

ARMY LEADERS DEFENDED AGAINST 'UNJUST' CRITICISM

OW070508 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 5 Oct 86

[Excerpts] It has been 10 years since the Gang of Four were overthrown. Arrested by our Army on 6 October 1976, they deserve their punishment.

We should particularly point out that, after the downfall of the Gang of Four, it was with the army leaders' active assistance that many party and state leaders, including Comrade Deng Xiaoping, were liberated and reinstated to central high-level leading posts.

Today, people seldom recall our Army's heroic deeds in opposing the Gang of Four during the Cultural Revolution, or its decisive role in their overthrow. Disregarding the fact that our Army was compelled to carry out instructions from the highest authority, people allege that our army cadres committed many leftist mistakes and even slander some of our army leaders for allegedly being in close association with the Gang of Four. As a result, some armymen of the older generation and authoritative leaders in our Army, who worked hard and performed a valuable service, have been placed on a par with the counterrevolutionary renegades and criminals Wang, Zhang, Jiang, and Yao.

All these allegations are contradictory to historical facts and are unjust. Historical facts about the selfless actions taken by our Army and its leaders against the Gang of Four during the Cultural Revolution, and about the decisive role played by our Army in their overthrow, prove again that all commanders, fighters, and leaders in our Army ever remain loyal to the party and the revolution, and wholeheartedly serve the people.

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BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

BRIEFS

HU YAOBANG RULES OUT U.S. VISIT--In a recent conversation with foreign guests, Comrade Hu Yaobang ruled out the possibility of paying an official visit to the United States. He said: The U.S. Government pursues a two-China policy on the Taiwan issue. Under those circumstances, it is inappropriate to visit the United States. [Text] [(Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 7 Oct 86 OW] /7358

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TAIWAN

# LIAOWANG ARTICLE ON THIRD KMT-CPC COOPERATION

HK300831 Hong Kong LIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese No 38, 22 Sep 86  
pp 22, 23

[Article by Li Shiping [2621 0013 1627]: "The 'One Country, Two System' Idea and the Feasibility of a Third KMT-CPC Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] Editor's note: Sichuan academic circles held a symposium on the "one country, two systems" theory in Mianyang in late August. More than 50 people attended the meeting, including professors, scholars, and research workers from all institutes of higher education, research centers, and relevant units of the province. About 30 theses were submitted to the symposium.

The experts and scholars explored the "one country, two systems" theory from different aspects and angles and looked forward to the prospects of peaceful reunification. Starting with this issue, this journal will select some of the theses read at the symposium and carry them for the information of our readers. [end editor's note]

## Lack of Trust in Each Other Is No Longer an Obstacle

The lack of trust between the KMT and CPC is long-standing for historical reasons. On the part of the KMT, its lack of trust in the CPC is closely linked to its persistence in an anticommunist policy.

If we look at history, however, the KMT never changed its anticommunist policy after the first KMT-CPC split, yet a second KMT-CPC cooperation materialized. How can we account for this? The reason lies in the fact that China's national conditions and the trend of historical development were irresistible, notwithstanding the KMT's persistence in its anticommunist policy. At present, everything can be resolved through talks so long as the Taiwan authorities truly "have the lofty ideal of unifying China in mind," as Chiang Ching-kuo put it at the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th KMT Central Committee (March 1986), and genuinely understand that the unification of China is an irresistible trend.

The lack of trust of the Taiwan authorities now focuses on a prime problem: The fear of its "downgrading to a local government," the fear of internal disturbance because of this, and the fear of instability of KMT rule in Taiwan. However, the "one country, two systems" concept serves precisely to thoroughly dispel such worries.

First, based on the "one country, two systems" concept, Deng Xiaoping has explicitly pointed out: There is only one China; "the difference in social systems can be accepted; however, only the People's Republic of China can represent China in the world. We acknowledge that the Taiwan local government can go its own way in its internal policies. As a special administrative region, Taiwan is a local government, but it is different from the local governments of other provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. Taiwan can have some special powers which other provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions do not have, so long as these do not injure the interests of the unified state." Therefore, Taiwan basically has no need to worry about its "downgrading a local government," because it has long been a local Chinese government. The PRC represents China, and Taiwan is part of China. This is a fact that more than 130 countries in the world have long acknowledged.

Second, the Taiwan authorities should attach importance to the fact that based on the "one country, two systems" concept, Taiwan is not an ordinary local government, but a special administrative region. It is different from ordinary provinces, municipalities, and other autonomous regions; moreover, it will be treated even more generously than the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Generally speaking, Taiwan may follow its own way; as Deng Xiaoping cited, it may have the following special powers: "After China's unification, the Taiwan special administrative region may maintain its independent nature; it may implement a social system different from the mainland. Its judiciary may be independent, and the power of final judgment may be maintained in Taiwan, without resulting to Beijing. Besides, Taiwan may have its own army, so long as it does not become a threat to the mainland. The mainland will not send men to be stationed in Taiwan. No troops will be sent there, neither will administrative personnel. All party, government, and army systems in Taiwan will be run by Taiwan itself. Moreover, the central government will reserve some posts for Taiwan." It is very clear that, except for acknowledging a fact which has long been universally acknowledged in the world, the Taiwan authorities may keep all current conditions in Taiwan intact. They will have all the benefits, with nothing to lose.

And third, there will still be a question of the relations between political parties. It is quite clear that after China's unification, the Taiwan government will be a local government, and one with its own independence. However, the KMT, the party in power in Taiwan, and the CPC, the party leading the PRC, are equal in party relations, which are different from government relations. Therefore Deng Xiaoping proposed: "The two parties should hold talks on the basis of equality on implementing a third cooperation, and we shall not propose talks between the central and the local governments."

In short, the factor of lacking trust in each other is long-standing, and still exists to a serious extent on the part of the KMT. However, this factor did not become an absolute obstruction in historical KMT-CPC cooperation. When the "one country, two systems" concept has swept away all sorts of worries on the part of the KMT, this factor will not stand in the way of a third KMT-CPC cooperation.

#### Nor Will Differences in Beliefs Be an Obstacle

The differences in belief or ideology between the communists and KMT members have always existed. On the two occasions of KMT-CPC cooperation during the period of China's democratic revolution, although the communists acknowledged that the Three Principles of the People put forward by Dr. Sun Yat-sen were basically the same as the communist program for democratic revolution and formed the basis of the common program for KMT-CPC cooperation, the communists still resolutely adhered to their belief in communism. However, differences in belief never stood in the way of the two occasions of KMT-CPC cooperation. At present, socialism is implemented among a population of 1 billion in mainland China, while a population of over 10 million in Taiwan lives under the capitalist system, which the KMT calls the system of the Three People's Principles. In ideology alone, the differences in belief between the KMT and CPC are more conspicuous than at any time in history. They seem diametrically opposed, and reconciliation is out of the question. What is the way out?

The "one country, two systems" concept is a new solution to a difficult problem based upon actual conditions. According to this conception, one country means the PRC is the only one to represent China in the world; and two systems means the mainland with its population of 1 billion implements the socialist system, while Taiwan with its population of over 10 million (as well as Hong Kong and Macao) implements the capitalist system. The two social systems coexist in peace and engage in peaceful emulation within a unified China, with neither swallowing the other. In ideology, Taiwan's KMT believes in the Three Principles of the People, and they will not be subject to any interference, while the communists, even more naturally, believe in communism. This is both a relationship of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition.

In short, the differences in beliefs between the KMT and CPC are long-standing, but this did not stand in the way of the two historical occasions of KMT-CPC cooperation. With the "one country, two systems" concept, such differences in belief will naturally not impede a third KMT-CPC cooperation and China's peaceful unification.

#### Nor Is Economic Discrepancy a Hindrance

Comparatively speaking, the discrepancy in economic life on either side of the strait is marked. This is an objective fact that is pointless to evade. But can we say that this is standing in the way of the realization of China's peaceful unification? It seems so theroretically, but if we make a concrete analysis, it is not necessarily so. There is no need to go

into detail about the various complex historical reasons for the present discrepancy in economic life on both sides of the strait, nor the essential advantages and disadvantages or merits and shortcomings between the two social systems, nor the many incomparable factors in people's actual life under different social systems, as well as the prospects of economic development they are all self-evident. What needs to be emphasized is that the view that the discrepancy in economic life will certainly impede the peaceful unification does not accord with China's national conditions, with the patriotic tradition of the Chinese nation, or with the persistent patriotic activities of the Taiwan people in modern history.

From an economic point of view, the "one country, two systems" concept has all the advantages and no disadvantages for peaceful unification between the mainland and Taiwan. Therefore, we may conclude that economic discrepancies have never been, and are not, a hindrance to China's unification.

#### The Taiwan Authorities Lack Courage

At present the issue of realizing China's peaceful unification and a third KMT-CPC cooperation can be said to be as easy as it is difficult. When we say it is easy, we refer to the fact that since the "one country, two systems" concept was proposed, "everything has been ready," and the various hindrances once in people's minds exist no longer. When we say it is difficult, we mean that "a favorable wind is crucial," which precisely refers to the lack of courage on the part of the Taiwan authorities to face squarely the actual conditions.

Based on the "one country, two systems" concept, the two parties are required to acknowledge a fait accompli, and no changes in the status quo are involved. This has all the advantages for both parties, which have nothing to lose. This is the fairest and most realistic measure, and a new way unprecedented in history. The requirement that the Taiwan authorities acknowledge the socialist PRC where there is multi-party cooperation under the leadership of the CPC as the sole legal government representing China only means to acknowledge an accomplished fact universally acknowledged. To require the Taiwan authorities to give up the slogan of "unifying China with the Three Principles of the People" does not involve giving up some accomplished fact, but giving up an illusion, which has never become accomplished fact, and a myth, which has no sense of reality. This will do not the least injury to the practical interests of the Taiwan authorities; moreover, it will provide a full and even constitutional guarantee for all the accomplished facts and for the practical interests of Taiwan and the KMT in power.

The "one country, two systems" concept has already made "everything ready" for KMT-CPC cooperation and China's peaceful unification. Now we are waiting for the "crucial favorable wind" to come earlier, with the KMT in power squarely facing the actual conditions. When the two parties talk on an equal basis, a third KMT-CPC cooperation is realized, and the "lofty ideal of unifying China" is completed, both parties will make contributions to the Chinese nation as well as to world peace.

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